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J. Potts
1844

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS,

&c. &c.

A

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

CONNECTED WITH

THE FIRST ABDICATION

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON,

HIS EMBARKATION AT FREJUS AND VOYAGE TO ELBA, ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP UNDAUNTED.

BY

CAPTAIN SIR THOMAS USSHER, R.N.,K.C.H.C.B.

HIS EMBARKATION AT ELBA, ON BOARD THE ELBESE BRIG OF WAR L'INCONSTANT, AND A JOURNAL OF HIS EXTRAORDINARY MARCH TO PARIS, AS

NARRATED BY COLONEL LABORDE,

WHO ACCOMPANIED THE EMPEROR ON THAT OCCASION.

DUBLIN:
GRANT AND BOLTON, 115, GRAFTON-STREET;
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PREFACE.

ERRATA.

Page 21, line 5—*for* "deeyly," *read* deeply.
„ 24 „ 17—*for* "divient," *read* devient.
„ 24 „ 19—*for* "manufactuers," *read* manufactures.
„ 24 „ 20—*after* "devroit," *read* en.
„ 24 „ 22—*for* "cas," *read* car.
„ 24 „ 23—*for* "chore," *read* chose.
„ 24 „ 25—*after* "ont," *read* des.
„ 32 „ 8—*for* "Alemene," *read* Alcmene.
„ 42 „ 18—*for* "conte," *read* coute.
„ 53 „ 31—*for* "Gourdon," *read* Gourgon.
„ 56 „ 23—*for* "court," *read* coast.
„ 61 „ 16—*for* "irrevalent," *read* irrelevant.
„ 63 „ 21—*for* "nourris," *read* nourrir.
„ 78 „ 6—*for* "autre," *read* outre.

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THOMAS USSHER.

Mount Usher, Co. Dublin.

JOURNAL OF EVENTS,

CONNECTED WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

In the month of August, 1813, I was stationed in the *Undaunted* frigate, in the Gulf of Lyons, with the *Redwing*, Sir John Sinclair, and the *Espoir*, the Hon. Captain Spencer, under my orders. The latter, who had joined sometime before, had brought me letters and papers from England, in which were various reports of the reverses of the French army, and of the probable downfall of the Emperor Napoleon, with many speculations and surmises thereupon, and hinting at the possibility of his attempting to make his escape to America. The *Courier* newspaper even went so far as to insert in its columns a minute description of the Emperor's person, in case the attempt should be made. Singularly enough, I cut out the paragraph in question, and wafered it on the book-case in my cabin, jokingly observing to the other captains, who happened to be dining with me about that time, that they had better take a copy of it, as he might

possibly come our way, little imagining at the time I made this observation, that a few short months would see him at the very same table at which we were then sitting.

The *Redwing* and *Espoir* afterwards returned to England, and I remained through the winter cruising off the coast of France.

On the 24th of April, 1814, about ten o'clock at night, being five or six leagues from the town of Marseilles, in company with the *Euryalus*, Capt. Charles Napier, then under my orders, my attention was attracted by a brilliant light, in the direction of, and seemingly coming from the town, which I conjectured was an illumination for some important event. I began to think the *Courier* might prove, after all, to be a true prophet. Every exertion was then made, and every sail set in both ships to work up the bay. At day-break we were close off the land—all was apparently quiet in the batteries, not a flag flying, nor were the telegraphs, which was uniformly the case on the approach of an enemy, at work. Everything betokened that some great change had taken place. The morning was serene and beautiful, with a light wind from the southward. Eager to know what had happened, but above all, anxious to hear (for who that has once experienced the horrors and miseries of war, can wish for its continuance!) that peace had been restored, I pushed in towards the island of Pomegue, which protects the anchorage of the bay of Marseilles. To guard against a surprise,

however, should such be attempted, I took the precaution of clearing the ship for action, and made signal to the *Euryalus* to shorten sail, that in the event of the batteries opening unexpectedly upon the *Undaunted*, my friend, Captain Napier, by whose judgment and gallant conduct I had on former occasions profited, might render me any assistance, in the event of being disabled. We now showed our colours and hoisted a flag of truce, and the royal standard of the Bourbons, which the ship's tailor had made during the night, at the main. This flag had not been displayed on the French coast for a quarter of a century: thus equipped, we were allowed to approach within gun-shot, when we observed men coming into the battery, and almost immediately a shot struck us on the main deck. Finding it was not their intention to allow us to proceed, I ordered the ship to be wore round, and hauled down the flag of truce and standard. While wearing, a second shot was fired, which dropped under the counter. This unusual and unwarrantable departure from the rules of civilised warfare, I resolved to notice, in the only way such attacks ought to be noticed, determined at once, in the promptest and most energetic way, to convince our assailants, that under no circumstances was the British flag to be insulted with impunity. I, therefore, again wore round, and arriving within point blank shot of the battery, poured in a broadside, which swept it completely, and in five minutes not a man was to be seen near

the guns. It was entirely abandoned. I now made sail for a second battery, and by signal directed the *Euryalus* to close, intending to anchor off the town. Shortly afterwards, observing a boat with a flag of truce, standing out of the harbour, I shortened sail to receive it. On coming alongside, I found she had on board the mayor and municipal officers of Marseilles, who had come from the town to apologise for the conduct pursued by the batteries, and intimating that it was an unauthorised act of some of the men. They informed me of the abdication of Napoleon, and the formation of a provisional government at Paris; and I congratulated them on the change. I assured these gentlemen, that with regard to the conduct of the batteries, I could have no hesitation in forgiving all that had passed, and that I only hoped *I* might be as easily forgiven for the part I had taken; that to prove my confidence in the honor and loyalty of their city, I should anchor my ship abreast of the town, a proposition they did not seem very much to approve of. I then made sail, with the *Euryalus* in company, and dropt anchor in the mouth of the harbour, that I might be the better able to take advantage of any circumstances that might occur. Captain Napier and myself then proceeded in the barge of the *Euryalus* towards the land. We found a dense crowd collected at the landing place, who, as we stopped to inquire for the Pratique officers, rushed into the water, and seizing the bow hauled her by main force on shore. Never did I

witness such a scene as now presented itself, as almost choked by the embraces of old and young, we were hoisted on their shoulders and hurried along, we knew not whither. I certainly did not envy the situation of my friend, Captain Napier, whom I saw most lovingly embraced, by an old lady with one eye, from whom he endeavoured, in vain, to extricate himself, not using, I must say, the most gentle terms our language affords.

In this way we arrived at the Hotel de Ville, amidst loud cries of "Vive les Anglais." We were here received by our friends, who had come with the flag of truce in the morning, but who were evidently not prepared for such a visit from us now. Indeed, under any other circumstances, we should not have been justified in appearing there as we did. Conscious, however, that we had no infectious disease on board, and as we had not visited any part of the Mediterranean where the plague prevails, we endeavoured to quiet their fears, and to satisfy them that no danger was to be apprehended from our visit. This infringement, however, of their sanitary laws (the observance of which they consider so essential to their safety,) they appeared to feel deeply, though I gave them every assurance of the healthy state of the ships. Besides, as I observed, it was no act of ours, but had been forced upon us by themselves, and under circumstances which we could not very well control. They said there was no previous instance of their sanitary laws having been violated, except by Napoleon, when he landed

from Egypt. They then invited us, with true French politeness, into the Maison de Ville, remarking, at the same time, how much their city had suffered in the reign of Louis XIV. from the dreadful plague, a magnificent picture of which, by David, showing some of the horrors of that visitation, hung in one of the principal rooms of the building. They now politely requested us to wait upon the General in command. We found that officer attending High Mass at the cathedral, and it is hardly possible to describe his astonishment, and the excitement caused by seeing two British naval officers, in their uniforms, in the midst of the congregation. I went up to the General, who received me with great apparent cordiality, and with considerable tact, (for we were at that time the greater "Lion" of the two,) invited us to join the procession, (I think it was that of the Virgin,) for which preparations had been made, and which was about to set out from the church where we then were. The streets through which we passed were excessively crowded, so much so, that it was with the utmost difficulty the procession could make its way at all.

The predominance of old people and children among the crowd was remarkable. Observing upon this to some of the municipal officers, they told me that this was caused by the conscription, which had swept off, without distinction, (like another plague) all the young men who were capable of bearing arms, causing indescribable misery not only here,

but everywhere throughout France. Happy, indeed, were these poor people at seeing us amongst them, the harbingers of peace, which many of them had so long and ardently desired. That this was the prevailing feeling among them their whole demeanour amply testified, as with vociferations, loud and vehement, of "Vive les Anglais!" they plainly told us we were not unwelcome visitors. On arriving near the General's house, we were invited to take some refreshment, which we did; but the populace outside were very impatient, and were not satisfied till we again made our appearance amongst them. I now began to reflect on the singular and difficult circumstances in which I was placed, and the responsibility I was incurring, being positively without any information on which I could rely, as to the state of affairs outside of Marseilles. Nevertheless, as I knew the ships were prepared for any emergency that might happen, and in the hands of Lieutenant Hastings, my first lieutenant, in whose zeal and gallantry I had the greatest possible confidence; I did not think there was much cause for apprehension, come what might. I had an idea, indeed, that this enthusiasm would not last. In the midst of all this rejoicing, I received a communication from the Commandant of the town, informing me that he had been instructed by his superior the Prince of Esling, the Governor of Toulon, and Commander-in-Chief of the district, to order us to our ships, and to allow of no further communication, excepting by flags of truce. I

replied to this somewhat insolent mandate, by declaring my determination to remain where I was, telling the Commandant pretty plainly that I should not comply with the Prince's orders. I knew my strength, and that the ships, by their position, had the entire command of the town. The Prince then intimated that he would march three thousand men against the town. This also I was prepared for. During this angry discussion, Colonel Campbell, the English commissioner, arrived, bringing with him a very important note, which will be found in the appendix. I immediately waited upon him. He informed me that he had left the Emperor Napoleon on the road, pursuing his journey to St. Tropez, from which place, it had been arranged, he was to embark, accompanied by the envoys of the Allied Sovereigns. I immediately made arrangements for quitting the harbour of Marseilles, and on the following morning (April 26th) set sail for St. Tropez, leaving Captain Napier in command of the station.

Undaunted, off St. Tropez,
April 27th.

On arriving off St. Tropez, we hoisted a red flag at the main, being the distinguishing signal agreed upon with Colonel Campbell at Marseilles. A boat immediately came out of the harbour, with a lieutenant from the French frigate, *Dryade*, (commanded by the Comte de Montcabri,) which was lying there with the *Victorieuse* corvette. The

Comte sent his lieutenant to inform me, that the Emperor Napoleon had abdicated, and that the Comte de Montcabri had orders from the Provisional Government to remain at St. Tropez, with the *Victorieuse*, for the purpose of conducting the Emperor to the island of Elba, the sovereignty of which island had been guaranteed to him by the Allied Sovereigns, (it now struck me, that the red flag at the main was considered, in war, a signal of defiance.) At this moment a boat came alongside, with an Austrian officer, Major Sinclair, dispatched from Frejus by Colonel Campbell, to inform me that at the particular request of the Emperor, the Commissioners of the Allied Sovereigns had thought proper to change the place of embarkation, and requesting me to proceed to Frejus Bay. Frejus is an open roadstead, five or six leagues to the north of St. Tropez. Here it was that Napoleon landed on his return from Egypt. On arriving at the anchorage, I received a note from Col. Campbell, informing me that horses had been sent down from the town, and an orderly sergeant placed at my disposal, to carry on any communications with the town. Frejus lies on a height, three or four miles from the anchorage. I took advantage of this conveyance and immediately waited on Col. Campbell, who, although suffering severely from his wounds, immediately accompanied me to the Chapeau Rouge, a small auberge or hotel (and I believe the only one in Frejus,) where Napoleon was lodged, and whatever my previous feelings might have been towards

this, the most powerful and constant enemy the country ever had to contend with, I am proud to confess, all resentment and uncharitable feeling, if any ever existed, quickly vanished, and I felt all the delicacy of the situation, in which circumstances the most extraordinary had placed me. His faithful follower in adversity, Comte Bertrand, was in attendance, and having announced Col. Campbell and myself, we were immediately presented to him. Napoleon was dressed in the regimentals of the "Vielle Garde," and wore the star of the Legion of Honor; he walked forward to meet us, with a book open in his hand, to which he occasionally referred, when asking me questions about Elba, and the voyage thither, he received us with great condescension and politeness; his manner was dignified, but he appeared to feel his fallen state. Having asked me several questions regarding my ship, he invited us to dine with him, upon which we retired. I was shortly afterwards waited upon by Comte Bertrand, who presented me with lists of the baggage, carriages, horses, &c., belonging to the Emperor. I immediately made arrangements for receiving them, and then demanded an interview with the several envoys of the Allied Sovereigns, feeling, that placed in a position of such peculiar responsibility and delicacy, it was necessary for me to learn from them the instructions they had received from their respective sovereigns, that I might shape my conduct accordingly, and particularly to know from them what ceremony was to be observed on

Napoleon's embarkation, and on arriving on board the *Undaunted*, as I was desirous to treat him with that generosity towards a fallen enemy which is ever congenial to the spirit and feelings of Englishmen. They informed me that their instructions were precise and positive, and that he was *styled by the treaty of Fontainbleau, Emperor and Sovereign of the island of Elba.* I still entertained doubts as to the propriety of receiving him with a royal salute, but Colonel Campbell (in order to remove every doubt on that subject,) showed me Lord Castlereagh's instructions to him, which were conclusive. I now gave orders to embark the Emperor's baggage, carriages and horses. Soon after, the *Dryade*, French frigate, and the *Victorieuse* corvette, arrived in the roads and anchored. The Comte de Montcabri, on landing, expressed his surprise to my first lieutenant, on seeing the baggage going on board. But on being presented to the Emperor shortly after, and learning his intention of embarking on board the *Undaunted*, he returned to his ship and sailed out of the bay, with the *Victorieuse* in company. The *Victorieuse*, I was given to understand, was to have remained at Elba in the Emperor's service. The party at table consisted of the Prince Schonwallof, Russian envoy; Baron Koller, Austrian envoy; Comte Truxos, Prussian envoy; and our envoy, Col. Campbell; Comte Clam, aide-de-camp to Prince Swartzenburgh; Comte Bertrand, Druo, and myself. The Emperor did not appear at all reserved, but on the

contrary, entered freely into conversation, and kept it up with great animation; he appeared to show marked attention to Baron Koller, who sat on his right hand. Talking of his intentions of building a large fleet, he alluded to the Dutch navy, of which he had formed a very mean opinion; he said that he had improved their navy, by sending able naval architects to Holland, and that he had built some fine ships there; the *Austerlitz* (he said) was one of the finest ships in the world; in speaking of her, he addressed himself to Prince Schouwallof, who did not seem to like the allusion; he said the only use he could make of the old Dutch men-of-war, was to fit them to carry horses to Ireland. He talked of the Elbe, said the importance of that river was but little known, that the finest timber for ship building could be brought there, at a small expense, fromPoland, &c. &c.

I slept this night at Frejus, and was awoke at four in the morning by two of the principal inhabitants, who came into my room, to implore me to embark the Emperor as quickly as possible, intelligence having been received that the army of Italy, lately under the command of Eugene Beauharnais, was broken up, that the soldiers were entering France in large bodies, and were as devoted as ever to their chief; these gentlemen were afraid the Emperor might put himself at their head, I informed them I had no more to do with embarking the Emperor than they had, and requested them to make known to the envoys (who, I dare say, were as

little pleased as I was, in being awoke at so unseasonable an hour,) their fears and misgivings. It was, indeed, pretty evident that Napoleon was in no hurry to quit the shores of France, and appeared to have some motive for remaining. The envoys became rather uneasy, and requested me to endeavour to prevail upon him to embark that day. In order to meet their wishes I demanded an interview, and pointed out to the Emperor the uncertainty of winds, and the difficulty I should have in landing in the boats, should the wind change to the southward and drive in a swell upon the beach, which, from the present appearance of the weather, would, in all probability, happen before many hours, in which case I should be obliged, for the safety of his Majesty's ship, to put to sea again; I then took leave and went on board, and at 10 o'clock received the following note from Col. Campbell:—

"Dear Ussher,

"The Emperor is not very well. He wishes to delay embarking for a few hours, if you think it will be possible then; that you may not be kept in suspence, he begs you will leave one of your officers here, who can make a signal to your ship when it is necessary to prepare, and he will also send previous warning. I think you had better come up, or send, and we can fix a signal, such as a white sheet at the end of the street. The bearer has orders to place at your disposal a hussar and a horse, whenever you wish to go up or down, let me know your wishes by bearer. You will find me at General Koller's.

"Your's truly,

"N. CAMPBELL."

"10, A.M."

Napoleon finding that it was my determination to put to sea, saw the necessity of yielding to circumstances; Bertrand was accordingly directed to have the carriages ready at seven o'clock. I waited on the Emperor (at a quarter before seven) to inform him that my barge was at the beach; I remained alone with him in his room at the town, until the carriage, which was to convey him to the boat, was announced. He walked up and down the room, apparently in deep thought. There now was a loud noise in the street, upon which I remarked, that a French mob was the worst of all mobs; (I hardly know why I made this remark,) he replied, yes, they are a fickle people, and added, they are like a weathercock. At this moment Comte Bertrand announced the carriages; he immediately put on his sword, which was lying on the table, and said, "allons, capitaine;" I turned from him to feel if my sword was loose in the scabbard, fancying I might have occasion to use it. The folding doors (which opened on a pretty large landing place) were now thrown open, when there appeared a number of most respectable looking people, the ladies, in full dress, waiting to see him. They were perfectly silent; but bowed most respectfully to the Emperor, who went up to a very pretty young woman in the midst of the group, and asked her, in a courteous tone, if she was married, and how many children she had. He scarcely waited for a reply; but bowing to each individual, as he descended the staircase, stepped into his carriage,

desiring Baron Koller, myself, and Comte Bertrand, (the Mareschal du Palais) to accompany him. The carriage immediately drove off at full speed to the beach, followed by the carriages of the envoys. On arriving there the scene was deeply interesting. It was a bright moonlight night, with little wind; a regiment of cavalry was drawn up in a line upon the beach, and among the trees. On the carriage approaching, the bugles sounded, which, with the neighing of horses, and the noise of the people assembled to bid adieu to their fallen chief, was to me in the highest degree interesting. The Emperor having left the carriage, embraced Prince Schouwallof, (who, with Comte Truxos, took leave and returned to Paris,) and, taking my arm, proceeded immediately towards the barge, which was waiting to receive us. Lieutenant Smith, (nephew of Sir Sidney Smith, who, it is well known, had been some time confined in the Temple with Capt. Wright) was by a strange coincidence the officer in command of the boat. He came forward and assisted the Emperor along the gang-board into the boat. The *Undaunted* lay close in, with her topsails hoisted, lying to. On arriving alongside, I immediately went up the side to receive the Emperor on the quarter-deck. He took his hat off and bowed to the officers who were all assembled on the deck. He soon afterwards went forward to the forecastle amongst the people, and I found him there conversing with those among them who understood a little French. Nothing seemed to escape his obser-

vation. The first thing which attracted his notice was the number of boats (I think we had eleven) Having made all sail, and fired a royal salute, I accompanied him to my cabin and shewed him my cot, which I had ordered to be prepared for him: he smiled when I said I had no better accommodation, and said that everything was very comfortable, and he was sure he would sleep soundly. We now made all sail out of the bay, and shaped our course for Elba. At four, his usual hour, he was up, and had a strong cup of coffee, (his constant custom) and at seven came on deck, and seemed not the least affected by the motion of the ship; at this moment we were exchanging numbers with the *Malta*, (Sir Benjamin Hallowel, standing towards Genoa) and I telegraphed to him that I had the Emperor Napoleon on board. The wind having changed to the south-east, I hauled on the larboard tack towards Corsica, at ten we breakfasted; Comte Bertrand, Comte Druo, Baron Koller, Colonel Campbell, Comte Clam, and the officer of the morning watch were present. Napoleon was in good spirits, and seemed very desirous of showing that though *he* had ambition, England was not without her share also. He said, that ever since the time of Cromwell, we had set up extraordinary pretensions, and arrogated to ourselves the dominion of the sea—that after the peace of Amiens, Lord Sidmouth wished to renew the former treaty of commerce, which had been made by Vergennes after the American war; but that *he*, anxious to

encourage the industry of France, had expressed his readiness to enter into a treaty, not like the former, which it was clear, from the portfolio of Versailles, must be injurious to the interests of France; but on terms of perfect reciprocity, viz., that if France took so many millions of English produce, England should take back as many millions of French produce in return. Lord Sidmouth said, "this is totally new; I cannot make a treaty on these conditions." Very well! I cannot force you into a treaty of commerce no more than you can force me, and we must remain as we are without commercial intercourse. Then, said Lord Sidmouth, there will be war, for unless the people of England have the advantage of commerce secured to them, which they have been accustomed to, they will force me to declare war. As you please, it is my duty to study the just interests of France, and I shall not enter into any treaty of commerce on other principles than those I have stated—that although England made Malta the pretext, all the world knew that was not the real cause of the rupture; that he was sincere in his desire for peace, as a proof of which, he sent his expedition to San Domingo. When it was remarked by Colonel Campbell that England did not think him sincere, from his refusing a treaty of commerce and sending consuls to Ireland, with engineers, to examine the harbours; he laughed, and said, that was not necessary, for every harbour in England and Ireland was well known to him; and

Bertrand remarked, that every ambassador was a spy. Napoleon said, that the Americans acknowledged the justness of his principles of commerce, formerly they brought over some millions of tobacco and cotton, took specie in return, and then went empty to England, where they furnished themselves with British manufactures. He refused to admit their tobacco and cotton unless they took from France an equivalent in French produce, they yielded to his system as being just; he added, that now England had it all her own way, that there was no power which could successfully oppose her system, and that she might now impose on France any treaty she pleased—"Les Bourbons pauvres diables (here he checked himself,) ils sont de Grands Seigneurs qui se contentent d'avoir leurs terres et leur chateaux, mais si le peuple Français divient me content de cela, et trouve qu'il n'y a pas l'encouragement pour leurs manufactuers dans l'Interieur qu'ils devroit avoir, ils seront chassés dans six mois." Marseilles, Nantes, Bordeaux, et la Côte ne se soucient pas de cela, cas ils ont toujours le même commerce, mais dans l'interieur c'est autre chore. Je sais bien comment l'esprit etoit pour moi à Terrare, Lyons, et ces endroits qui ont manufactures, et qui j'ai encouragés. He said that Spain was the natural friend of France and enemy of Great Britain, that it was the interests of Spain to unite with France in support of their commerce and foreign possessions—that it was a disgrace to Spain to allow us to hold Gibraltar,

it was only to bombard it night and day for a year and it must eventually fall. He asked whether we still held Ceuta; he did not invade Spain, he said, to put one of his own family on the throne, but to revolutionize her, to make her a kingdom en regle, to abolish the inquisition, feudal rights, and the inordinate privileges of certain classes, he spoke also of our attacking Spain, without a declaration of war and without cause, and seizing the frigates bringing home treasure. Some one remarked, that we knew Spain intended to make common cause with him as soon as the treasure should arrive; he said he did not want it, all he had was five millions (francs) per month. On my asking a question regarding the Walchern expedition, he said we could not hold Walchern with less than 14,000 men, half of whom would be lost annually by disease, and as he had such means in the neighbourhood at Antwerp, it could, at any time, be attacked, and by means of superiority of numbers must fall, that the expedition against it was on too great a scale and too long preparing, as it gave him time. He added that he wrote from Vienna, that the expedition was going to Antwerp. He thought a coup-de-main with ten thousand men, and with less preparation, would have succeeded—laughed at our ignorance in suffering so much time to be lost, and sitting down before Flushing (whereby we lost a large proportion of our army through disease) instead of advancing rapidly on Antwerp, and seemed astonished at our government selecting such

a commander-in-chief for so important an expedition. After breakfast Napoleon read for some hours, and came on deck about two o'clock, and remained two or three hours, occasionally remarking what was going forward, as the men were employed in the ordinary duty of the ship, mending sails, drawing yarns, exercising the guns, &c. &c. After dinner he referred to a map of Toulon harbour, and went over the whole of the operations against Lord Hood and General O'Hara (he commanded the artillery there as major) all the other officers, he said, were for a regular siege; he gave in a memoir proposing to drive off the fleet from the inner harbour, which, if successful, would place the garrison of Toulon in danger—that it was upon this occasion he felt the superiority of the new tactics. He related an anecdote of one of the representatives of the people, ordering his battery to fire and unmasking it too soon. This evening a small Genoese trading vessel passed near us, I ordered her to be examined, and as Napoleon was anxious to know the news, I desired the captain to be sent on board; Napoleon was on the quarter-deck, he had a great coat and round hat on. As he expressed a wish to question the captain, I sent him to him on the after part of the quarter-deck, and afterwards ordered him down to my cabin. "Your captain," said he, "is the most extraordinary man I ever met with, he put all sorts of questions to me, and without giving me time to reply, repeated the same questions rapidly to me a second

time." When I told him whom he had been speaking to he appeared all astonishment, and instantly ran on deck hoping to again see him; but Napoleon, to his great disappointment, had already left the deck and gone below. When I told Napoleon that the man had remarked the rapidity with which he put questions to him twice over, he said it was the only way to get at the truth from such fellows. One morning, when Napoleon was on deck, I ordered the ship to be tacked, and we stood towards the Ligurian coast; the weather was very clear as we approached the land; we had a fine view of the Alps; he leaned on my arm, and gazed at them with great earnestness for nearly half an hour; his eye appeared quite fixed. I remarked that he had passed those mountains on a former occasion, under very different circumstances; he merely said, it was very true. The wind was now increasing to a gale, he asked me, laughing, if there was any danger, which was evidently meant to annoy Baron Koller, who was near him, and who had no great faith in the safety of ships, and whom he constantly joked on his bad sailorship, as he suffered dreadfully from sea sickness. He made some observations to me as to our men's allowance of provisions, and seemed surprised that they had cocoa and sugar, and asked how long they had had that indulgence, I told him they were indebted to him for it, that the continental system had done this good for the sailors, that as we could not send our cocoa and sugar to the continent, the government had made that addition to the allowance of the men.

We now tacked and stood over towards the Corsican shore, passing a small vessel, he was very anxious for me to hail her for news; I told him we could not get near enough for that purpose, as she was to windward crossing us on the opposite tack, we were then at table; he whispered me to fire at her and bring her down; I expressed my surprise at his request as it would *denationalize* her (referring to his Milan decree) he pinched my ear and laughed, remarking that the treaty of Utrecht directs, that when vessels are boarded it shall be done out of gun-shot, it was on this occasion, he said, England was not prepared for the steps he took in retaliation, upon her blockading an entire line of coast trom the river Elbe to Brest, it was that which forced him to take possession of Holland. America behaved with spirit, he said, adding, he thought their state correspondence was very well managed and contained much sound reasoning. I asked him if he issued his Milan decrees for the purpose of forcing America to quarrel with us? he said he was angry with America for suffering her flag to be denationalized; he spoke long on this subject, and said that America had justice on her side; he rather expected America to invade Mexico, he said the expedition against Copenhagen was most unjust, and in every point of view bad policy; and, that after all, we only took a few vessels that were of no use to us, that the gross injustice of attacking a weaker nation, without a cause and without a declaration of war, did us

infinite harm. I observed, that it was at that time believed that their fleet was sold to him. In speaking of Toulon, he remarked that he found great inconvenience in being obliged to complete the provisions and stores after the ships went out of the inner harbours, as it gave information of his intentions to British cruizers, to avoid this, he sent the *Rivoli* out from Venice on a camel, with her guns, stores, and provisions on board, he meant to form an establishment for building men-of-war at Bouc, near the mouth of the Rhone, instead of at Toulon, the timber for which was to be brought there by a canal from the Rhone, and that he intended to make Toulon a port of equipment. In speaking of Cherbourg, he described the basin cut out of the solid rock, with docks for ships, executed by his orders, and drew with a pencil, on a plan I have of the town, a line of fortifications, erected for its defence, against any expedition from England, which it seemed he expected—the entrance is mined at each side, the Empress Marie Louisa visited Cherbourg (when he was at Dresden) at the completion of the works last year. He said he had in his possession what would be invaluable to England, spoke of the weak and strong points of the empire; some remarks arising from this observation, he said France is nothing without Antwerp, for while Brest and Toulon are blockaded a fleet can be equipped there, wood is brought from Poland; he never would consent to give it up, having sworn at his coronation not to diminish France. He had the Elbe sounded

and surveyed carefully, and found that it was as favorable as the Scheldt for great naval establishments near Hamburgh.

He told me his plans for the navy were on a gigantic scale, he would have had three hundred sail of the line; I observed that it was impossible he could man half the number. He said the naval conscription, with the enlistment of foreigners, which he could have from all parts of Europe, would supply men enough for the whole of his navy, that the Zuyder sea is particularly well calculated for exercising conscripts. Having expressed some doubts as to the merits of his conscript sailors, he said I was mistaken, and asked my opinion of the Toulon fleet, which I had had frequent opportunities of seeing manœuvre in the presence of our fleet, he begged I would tell him frankly what I thought of it. The conscripts were trained or exercised, for two years, in schooners and small craft, and his best officers and seamen appointed to command them, that they were constantly at sea, either to protect the coasting trade or exercising; he did not calculate on their becoming perfect seamen by these means, but intended to have sent squadrons out to the East and West Indies, not for the purpose of attacking the colonies, but for perfecting the men and annoying, at the same time, the commerce of England; he calculated upon losing some ships; but said he should be able to spare them, that they would be well paid for. Whilst on this subject, he surprised me by explaining to Baron Koller

(and that very well) a very nice point of seamanship, viz., that of keeping a ship clear of her anchor in a tide-way.

He admired much the regularity with which the duty of the ship was carried on, every thing being so well timed, and, above all, the respect observed by the different ranks of officers to each other, and to the quarter deck, he thought this most essential to good discipline, and was not surprised that we were so tenacious of the slightest deviation from it, that he endeavoured to introduce this into the French navy, but could not drive it into the heads of his captains. The wind still continuing to the eastward, with a heavy sea, we stood in, to get well in with the Corsican shore, having carried away the leech ropes of the fore and main topsails; we repaired them aloft, close reefed them, and sent down topgallant-yards and royal masts, there being now every appearance of bad weather. I mentioned my intention, if the gale increased, of anchoring at Bastia, Napoleon seemed most desirous that we should, in that case, anchor at Ajacio, I explained to him that it was much out of our course; he proposed Calvi, with which he was perfectly acquainted, mentioning the depth of water, with other remarks on the harbour, &c., which convinced me he would have made us an excellent pilot had we touched there.

This evening we fell in, and exchanged numbers, with the *Berwick*, *Aigle*, and *Alemene*, with a convoy; I invited Sir John Lewis and Captain

Coglan to dine with me. When they came on board I presented them to Napoleon; he asked them various questions about their ships, their sailing, and other qualities. Captain Coglan was not a little surprised by his asking him if he were not an Irishman and a Roman Catholic. All this night we carried sail to get in shore, the *Aigle* and *Alemene* keeping company. At daylight we saw the town of Calvi bearing south, Napoleon was on deck earlier than usual, he seemed in high spirits, looked most earnestly at the shore, asking the officers questions relative to landing places, &c. As we closed with the shore, the wind moderated. During the bad weather Napoleon remained constantly on deck, and was not in the least affected by the motion of the ship—this was not the case, however, with his attendants, who suffered a good deal. The wind now coming off the land, we hauled close in shore; Napoleon took great delight in examining it with his glass, and told us many anecdotes of his younger days. We rounded a bold rocky cape, within two or three cables length. Napoleon, addressing himself to Baron Koller, said he thought a walk on shore would do them good, and proposed landing to explore the cliffs. The Baron whispered that he knew him too well to trust him on such an excursion, and begged me not to listen to his suggestion. We now hauled in towards the gulf of San Fiorenza, fired a gun, and brought to a felucca from Genoa, who informed us that Sir Edward Pellew, the commander-in-chief,

and fleet were lying there. We then shaped our course for Cape Corso, which we passed in the night. In the morning we tacked and stood towards Capraja Isle, and observing colours flying at the castle, stood close in and hove to. A deputation came off from the island requesting me to take possession of it, and informing me that there was a French garrison in the castle. I accordingly sent Lieutenant Smith with a party of seamen to hoist the British colours for its protection. Napoleon held a long conversation with the members of the deputation, who expressed the utmost surprise at finding their Emperor on board an English man-of-war. Having now made all sail, and shaped our course for Elba, Napoleon became very impatient to see it, and asked if we had every sail set. I told him we had all that could be of any use. He said, "were you in chase of an enemy's frigate should you make more sail?" I looked, and seeing that the starboard top-gallant stern-sail was not set, I observed, that if I were in chace of an enemy I should certainly carry it. He replied, if it could be of use in that case it might be so now. I mention this anecdote to show what a close observer he was, that in fact nothing escaped him.

When the man stationed at the mast-head hailed the deck that Elba was right a-head, he became exceedingly impatient, went forward to the forecastle, and as soon as the land could be seen from the deck, was very particular in enquiring what colours were flying on the batteries. He seemed to doubt the

garrison having given in their adhesion to the Bourbons, and it appears not without some reason, as they had, in fact, only done so during the preceding forty-eight hours, so that if we had had a fair wind I should have found the island in the hands of the enemy, and consequently must have taken my charge to the Commander-in-Chief, who would, no doubt, have ordered us to England. On nearing Elba, General Druot, with Comte Clam (aid-de-camp to Prince Schwartzenberg) and Lieutenant Hastings, the first lieutenant of the *Undaunted*, were sent on shore, commissioned by Napoleon to take possession of the island. Colonel Campbell accompanied them. They were conducted to the house of General Dalkeme, who had received orders from the Provisional Government only two days before, in consequence of which, he and his troops had given in their adhesion to Louis XVIII. and hoisted the white flag. The General expressed his desire to do whatever should be agreeable to the Emperor.

May 3rd, 1814, one part of Druot's instructions from Napoleon, mentioned his desire to receive the names of all officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who would wish to enter into his service. He desired also a deputation of the principal inhabitants to come off to him. At about eight o'clock, p.m., we anchored at the entrance of the harbour, and soon after the deputation waited upon Napoleon ; there had been originally about three thousand troops, but desertion, and the discharge of

discontented foreigners, had reduced the number to about seven hundred. The island had been in a state of revolt for several weeks, in consequence of which, the troops were shut up in the fortifications, which surround the town of Porto Ferragio. During the night, an Austrian officer was sent off in one of my boats to Piombino, to invite a renewal of communication, and obtain news, &c. This was done by a letter from the Commissioners to the Commandant, who, however, politely declined communicating with us, at the same time stating that he had written to his superior for permission to do so.

May 4th, Napoleon was on deck at daylight, and talked for two hours with the harbour master, who had come on board to take charge of the ship as pilot, questioning him minutely about the anchorage, fortifications, &c. At six, we weighed and made sail into the harbour ; anchored at half-past six near the mole head, and moored ship, hoisted out all the boats and sent some of the baggage on shore. At eight the Emperor asked me for a boat, as he intended to take a walk on the opposite side of the bay, and requested me to go with him. He wore a great coat and a round hat. Comte Bertrand, Col. Campbell, and Colonel Vincent (chief engineer) went with us ; Baron Koller declined doing so. When half way he remarked he was without a sword, and soon afterwards asked if the peasants of Tuscany were addicted to assassination. We walked for about two hours. The peasants, taking us for English-

men, cried "Viva," which seemed to displease him; we returned on board to breakfast. He afterwards fixed upon a flag for Elba, requesting me to remain while he did so. He had a book with all the ancient and modern flags of Tuscany; he asked my opinion of that which he had chosen, it was a white flag with a red band running diagonally through it, with three bees on the band (the bees were in his arms as Emperor of France.) He then requested me to allow the ship's tailor to make two, one of them to be hoisted on the batteries at one o'clock. At two, p.m., the barge was manned, he begged me to show him the way down the side of the vessel, which I did, and was soon followed by the Emperor, General Koller, Comte Bertrand, and Comte Clam. The yards being manned we fired a royal salute, as did two French corvettes which were at that time lying in the harbour.

The ship was surrounded by boats with the principal inhabitants, and bands of music on board. The air resounded with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur, Vive Napoleon!" On landing, he was received by the Prefect, the Clergy, and all the authorities, and the keys were presented to him on a plate, upon which he made a complimentary speech to the Prefect, the people welcoming him with loud acclamations. We proceeded to the church through a double file of soldiers, and from thence to the Hotel de Ville, where the principal inhabitants were assembled, with several of whom he conversed. Remarking an old soldier in the crowd (he was a

sergeant, I believe, and wore the order of the Legion of Honor) he called him to him, and seemed delighted to see him, spoke to him by name, and recollected having given him that "decoration" on the field of battle at Eylau. The old soldier shed tears, the idea of being remembered by his Emperor fairly overcame him. He felt, I doubt not, it was the proudest day of his life. Napoleon afterwards mounted a horse, and attended by a dozen persons, visited some of the outworks; having, before leaving the ship, invited me to dine with him at seven o'clock. I ordered all my wine and stock to be landed for his use, the island being destitute of provisions of that sort.

May 5th, at four a.m., I was awoke by shouts of "Vive l'Empereur," and drums beating; Napoleon was already up, and going on foot over the fortifications, magazines, and storehouses. At ten he returned to breakfast, and at two mounted his horse, and I accompanied him two leagues into the country. He examined various country houses, and gave money to all the poor we met on the road. At seven he returned to dinner. I should remark that before leaving the *Undaunted*, Napoleon requested that a party of fifty marines might accompany him and remain on shore, but this he afterwards changed to an officer and two sergeants, one of whom, O'Gorum (one of the bravest and best soldiers I ever met with, and whom he had taken a great fancy to) he selected to sleep outside the door of his bedchamber, on a mattress, with his clothes and

sword on. A valet de chambre slept on another mattress in the same place, and if Napoleon lay down during the day, the sergeant remained in the antichamber.

May 6th, at six o'clock, we crossed the bay in my barge and found horses waiting for us. We rode to Riou to see the famous iron mountains. We visited several mines, and likewise a temple built by the Romans, and dedicated by them to Jupiter. The road to the latter is highly romantic and beautiful, but it is difficult of access, being situated on the summit of a steep and lofty mountain; this obliged us to dismount, and we walked through a thick covert of beautiful trees and shrubs till we arrived at the temple. We saw also a small museum very nicely kept, and containing many fine specimens of the ores of the adjoining mines, two or three of which Napoleon presented me with. He expressed a wish to see the principal mine, and when everything was prepared, asked Baron Koller, myself, and one or two of the party to accompany him, which they politely declined; I, however, accepted his invitation. Two guides, with flambeaux, accompanied us. When we arrived at the middle of, what appeared to me, an immense cavern, the guides suddenly struck the ground with their flambeaux, and all around became instantly and splendidly illuminated. At the moment I expected an explosion; Napoleon may have thought so too, but he very coolly took a pinch of snuff and desired me to follow him. At Riou, Te Deum

was chaunted, I suppose for the first time, as the officiating priest did not seem to understand his business. In passing through Riou a salute was fired, and he was received with loud acclamations and cries of "Vive l'Empereur." The people seemed very anxious to see him. Several old women presented petitions, and numbers pressed forward to kiss his hand. At five, we embarked in the barge and crossed the harbour to Porto Ferraggio; at seven we sat down to dinner. He spoke of his intention of taking possession of Pianosa, a small island without inhabitants, about ten miles from Elba. He said, "Toute l'Europe dira, que j'ai deja fait une conquête;" already he had plans in agitation for conveying water from the mountains to the city. It appears always to have been considered by him of the first importance to have a supply of good water for the inhabitants of towns, and upon this occasion, it was evidently the first thing that occupied his mind, having almost immediately requested me to go with him in the barge in search of water. One day exploring for this purpose, he remarked the boats of the *Undaunted* in a small creek watering; he said he was quite sure that good water was to be had there, I asked him why he thought so; he said, depend upon it, sailors always know where to find the best, there are no better judges. We landed at the place he desired to taste the water; Jack made the rim of his hat into what is called a cocked hat, and filled it with water, Napoleon was amused at the

contrivance, tasted the water and pronounced it excellent. The cleanliness of the streets he also thought of the greatest importance, and requested I would allow the carpenter of the ship to go to him (having told him he was a tolerable good engineer) that he might consult him about forcing the sea water, by means of pumps, to the summit of the hill. Porto Ferraggio is built on the side of a hill, crowned by strong works for the defence of the town. I believe he afterwards abandoned his sea water plan, which would have been attended with great expense. He had also plans for a palace and a country house, and a house for Princess Pauline, stables, a lazaretto and quarantine ground, about the latter he asked my opinion.

May 7th, from four till ten, A.M., Napoleon was employed visiting the town and fortifications; after breakfast he again embarked in the barge, and visited the different storehouses round the harbour. In making excursions into the country he was accompanied by a dozen officers and the captain of the gens d'armerie, and one of the Fouriers de Palais always rode before, and sometimes a party of gens d'armes à pied. After taking our places in the barge, some of the party kept their hats off, he desired them to put them on, remarking, "nous sommes ici ensemble en soldats." The fishing for the tunny is carried on here by one of the richest inhabitants, who, from poverty, has amassed a large fortune; he employs a great number of the poor and has considerable influence. The removal of his stores

to a very inferior building, to make way for a stable for the Emperor's horses, is likely to give great offence.

May 8th, the *Curacoa*, Captain Towers, arrived with Mr. Locker, secretary to Sir Edward Pellew, Commander-in-Chief, he requested an audience, to present to the Emperor a copy of the treaty of peace. Napoleon received Mr. Locker very graciously, and seemed to read the treaty with deep interest. Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, Druot, General Dalheme, &c.; Colonel Campbell, Captain Towers, and myself were present. Having read it, he folded and returned it to Mr. Locker, expressing his obligations to the Commander-in-Chief.

May 9th, Baron Koller having demanded an audience, took leave of the Emperor and embarked in the *Curacoa* for Genoa. I, this day, accompanied Napoleon to Longone, where we lunched amid repeated cries of "Vive l'Empereur." Longone is a place of considerable strength, the works are regular, the bay is small, but there is safe anchorage within. Many old people presented petitions, and girls brought flowers, which he accepted with much condescension, talking to all, but particularly to those that were pretty. A young lad fell on his knees before him, either to ask charity or merely as a mark of respect, he turned to Col. Campbell and said, "Ah! je connais bien les Italiens, c'est l'education des moines, on ne voit pas cela parmi le peuple du nord." On proceeding a little farther

we met two well dressed young women, who saluted him with compliments, one of them, the youngest, told him with great ease and gaiety, that she had been invited to the ball at Longone two days before, but as the Emperor did not attend it, as was expected, she had remained at home. Instead of returning by the same road, he turned off by goat-paths to examine the coast, humming Italian airs, which he does very often, and seemed quite in spirits; he expressed his fondness for music, and remarked that this reminded him of passing Mont St. Bernard, and of a conversation he had had with a young peasant upon that occasion; the man, he said, not knowing who he was, spoke freely of the happiness of those who possessed a good house, and a number of cattle, &c.; he made him enumerate his greatest wants and desires, and afterwards sent for him and gave him all that he had described, "cela m'a conté 60,000 francs."

May 10th, Napoleon rode to the top of the highest hill above Porto Ferraggio, from whence we could perceive the sea at four different points, and apparently not an English mile in a straight line in any direction from the spot where we stood. After surveying it for some time, he turned round and laughed, "Eh! mon isle est bien petite." On the top of this hill is a small chapel and a house, where a hermit had resided until his death. Some one remarked that it would require more than common devotion to induce persons to attend service there. "Oui, oui, le Prêtre peut dire autant de

Bêtises qu'il veut." On the evening of the 9th, after his return from Longone, he entered upon the subject of the armies and their operations at the close of the last campaign, and continued it for half an hour, until he rose from table. After passing into the presence chamber, the conversation again turned on the campaign, his own policy, the Bourbons, &c., and he continued talking with great animation till midnight, remaining for three hours on his legs. He described the operations against the Allies as always in his favor, while the numbers were in any sort of proportion, that in one affair against the Prussians, who were infinitely the best, he had only seven hundred infantry en tirailleurs, with two thousand cavalry and three batallions of his guards in reserve, against double their numbers. The instant those old soldiers showed themselves the affair was decided. He praised General Blucher, "le vieux diable m'a toujours attaqué avec la même vigueur, s'il etoit battu, un instant après il se montrait prêt pour le combat." He then described his last march from Arcis to Brienne, said that he knew Swartzenberg would not stand to fight him, and that he hoped to destroy half his army. Upon his retreat, he had already taken an immense quantity of baggage and guns. When it was reported to him that the enemy had crossed the Aube to Vitry, he was induced to halt, he would not, however, credit it, till General Gerard assured him that he saw twenty thousand infantry, he was overjoyed at this assurance and immediately returned to St.

Dizier, where he attacked Wintzingerode's cavalry, which he considered the advance guard of Swartzenberg's army, drove them before him a whole day like sheep, at full gallop, took fifteen hundred or two thousand prisoners, and some light pieces of artillery; but to his surprise did not see any army, and again halted. His best information led him to believe, that instead of retreating to Sangres they had returned to Troyes. Accordingly he marched in that direction, and then ascertained, after a loss of three days, that the two armies of Swartzenberg and Blucher had marched upon Paris; he then ordered forced marches, and went forward himself (with his suite and carriages) on horseback, day and night, never were he or his friends more gay and confident; he knew, he said, all the workmen of Paris would fight for him, what could the Allies do with such a force? The National Guards had only to barricade the streets with casks and it would be impossible for them to advance before he arrived to their assistance. At eight, a.m., a few leagues from Paris, he met a column of stragglers, who stared at him and he at them, "qu'est ce que c'est cela?" he demanded; they stopped and seemed stupified—"quoi! c'est l'Empereur." They informed him they had retreated through Paris; he was still confident of success. His army burnt with desire to attack the enemy and drive them out of the capital; he knew very well what Swartzenberg would risk, and the composition of the allied army compared with his own, that he never would hazard a general

battle with Paris in his rear, that he would take the defensive position on the other side; he would have engaged them in various points for two or three hours, then have marched with his thirty battalions of guards and eighty pieces of cannon, himself at the head, upon one part of the enemy's force, nothing could withstand that, but although his inferiority of numbers would not enable him to hope for a complete victory, yet he should succeed in killing a great number of the enemy, and forcing them to abandon Paris and its neighbourhood, what he would afterwards do must depend on various circumstances. Who could have supposed that the senate would have dishonoured themselves by assembling under the force of 20,000 foreign bayonets (a timidity unexampled in history) and that a man who owed everything to him—who had been his aide-de-camp, and attached to him for twenty years, would have betrayed him! Still it was but a faction, which ruled Paris under the influence of the enemy's force; the rest of the nation was for him, the army would, almost to a man, continue to fight for him, but with so great an inferiority in point of number, it would be certain destruction to many of his friends and a war for years; he preferred, therefore, sacrificing his own rights. It was not for the sake of a crown that he had continued the war, it was for the glory of France, and not for the sake of plans which he saw no prospect of realizing, he wished to have made France the first nation in the world,

now it was at an end, "j'ai abdiqué, à présent je suis un homme mort!" He repeated the latter phrase several times. In remarking on his confidence in his own troops and his "Vieille Garde," and the want of union among the Allies, he referred to Colonel Campbell, to say candidly if it was not so, "dites, Campbell, franchement, n'est ce pas vrai." Colonel Campbell told him it was, that he had never seen any very considerable portion of the French army, but every one spoke of the Emperor and his "Vieille Garde," as if there were something more than human about them, that the inferiority which he conceived of Swartzenbergh's army, was justly founded, they had no confidence in themselves or on their allies, each party thought he did too much, and his allies too little, and that they were half beaten before they closed with the French. He sneered at Marmont's anxiety for his life, "fut il jamais rien si naive que cette capitulation;" he wished to protect his person but deserted, leaving him and the whole of his comrades open to the surprise of the enemy, for it was his corps which covered the whole front. The night previous, Marmont said to him, "pour *mon* corps d'armee j'en réponds," so he might. The officers and soldiers were enraged when they found what had been done, eight thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and sixty pieces of cannon. "Voila l'histoire," he animadverted on his conduct before Paris, saying, whoever heard of such a thing, two hundred pieces of artillery in the Champ de Mars, and

only sixty on the heights of Montmartre. General Dalheme asked whether he had not fought with vigour. This was nearly all that passed at that time. After accompanying him into another room he resumed the conversation, enlarging upon the general state of this army and the policy of France. He seemed to repent his abdication, and said, that had he known that it was owing to the treachery of Augereau only, that his army fell back behind Lyons, he would have united his own to it, even after Marmont's capitulation. He animadverted strongly on the conduct of Augereau, yet he met him with all the kindness of a friend. The first idea of his defection struck him after separating from him on the road between Valence and Lyons. The spirit of the troops was such, that he durst not remain among them, for on his arrival, many old officers and soldiers came up to him weeping, and said, they were betrayed by Augereau, and requested Napoleon would put himself at their head; he had an army of thirty thousand fine men, many of them from the army of Spain, which ought to have kept its ground against the Austrians. He again spoke of Marmont's defection, that it was reported to him in the morning, but he did not believe it—that he rode out and met Berthier, who confirmed it from an undoubted source. He referred to the armistice between Lord Castlereagh and Talleyrand, that he thought the Allies were pursuing a bad policy with regard to France, by reducing her so much, for it would wound the pride of every man there; they

might have left them much more power without any risk, and yet without being on an equality with several other powers. France had no longer any fleet or colonies—a peace would not restore ships or St. Domingo. Poland no longer existed, nor Venice; these went to aggrandize Russia and Austria. Spain, which is the natural enemy of Great Britain more so than of France, was incapable of doing anything as an ally, if to these sacrifices were added, that of a disadvantageous treaty of commerce with Great Britain, the people of France would not remain tranquil under it, "pas même six mois, après que les puissances étrangeres, quitterent Paris," He then remarked that a month had already elapsed, and the King of France had not yet come over to the people who had placed him on the throne. He said, now England would do as she pleased, the other powers were nothing in comparison, "pour vingt années au moins, aucune puissance, ne peut faire guerre contre l'Angleterre et elle fera ce qu'elle veut." Holland would be entirely subservient to her, the armistice gave no information as to the ships at Antwerp or in the Texel, "le brave Verheul, se défend toujours," (this admiral commanded the ships at Antwerp.) He then enumerated the number of ships he had in each of the ports, that in three or four years he would have had three hundred sail of the line, "quelle difference pour la France!" with many other remarks in the same strain. Colonel Campbell remarked, but we do not know why your Majesty

wishes to annihilate us, he laughed, and replied, "si j'avais été ministre d'Angleterre jaurais taché d'enfaire la plus grande puissance du monde." Napoleon frequently spoke of the invasion of England, that he never intended to attempt it without a superiority of fleet to protect the flotilla, this superiority would have been attained for a few days, by leading ours out to the West Indies, and suddenly returning, if it arrived three or four days before ours in the channel it would be sufficient. The flotilla would immediately push out, accompanied by the fleet, and the landing might take place on any part of the coast, as he would march direct to London; he preferred the coast of Kent, but that must have depended on wind and weather; he should have placed himself at the disposal of the naval officers and pilots, to land the troops wherever they thought they could do so with the greatest security and in the least time. He had 100,000 men, each of the flotilla having boats to land them, artillery and cavalry would soon have followed, and the whole could have reached London in three days; he armed the flotilla merely as a false attack, to lead us to suppose that he intended them to fight their way across the channel, but it was only to deceive us. It was observed that we expected to be treated with great severity in case of his succeeding, and he was asked what he would have done had he arrived in London; he said, it was a difficult question to answer, for a people with spirit and energy like the English, was not to be subdued, even by taking

their capital. He would certainly have separated Ireland from Great Britain, and the occupying the capital would have been a death blow to our funds, credit and commerce; he asked us to say frankly, whether we were not alarmed at his preparation for invading England. He entered into a long conversation with Comte Druot (who was with Admiral Villeneuve in the action with Sir Robert Calder) as to his operations, Comte Druot said, Admiral Villeneuve did not want either zeal or talents, but he was impressed with a great idea of the British navy—that after the action, he was entreated by all the officers to pursue the British squadron and to renew the action. He said, that about the end of the campaign of 1804, before England had seized the Spanish galleons, and before he had obtained from Spain an entire and frank co-operation, having then no other auxiliary but the Dutch, he wished to run the Toulon fleet through the Straits, unite it to six sail of the line at Rochfort, the Brest fleet which consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and with this combined force to appear before Boulogne, there to be joined by the Dutch fleet, thus securing the passage and landing of his troops. He said he was diverted from his intentions of invasion by the Austrians.

At the death of Admiral de la Touche Treville, one of his most able admirals, Villeneuve was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Toulon, and hoisted his flag in the *Bucentaur*, his squadron consisted of four eighty-gun ships, eight seventy-

fours, six frigates, and seven thousand troops. On the 30th March, 1805, Admiral Villeneuve sailed from Toulon, and on the 7th April was before Carthegena, waiting a reinforcement of six Spanish sail of the line, these ships not being ready, he pursued his course about the middle of April, appeared before Gibraltar and chased Sir John Orde, who, with five sail of the line, was before Cadiz. Admiral Villeneuve was joined by a seventy-four and two corvettes, and by Admiral Gravina with six sail of the line and two thousand troops, making eighteen sail of the line in all. The 9th of May, Villeneuve opened his sealed orders and gave Admiral Gravina his instructions, which were to separate with his squadron, reinforce the garrison of Porto Rico and Havannah, and rejoin him at a prescribed rendezvous. Villeneuve anchored at Martinique on the 14th May, and heard that Admiral Misiessy had just left the West Indies; he sailed from Rochfort the 11th January, his squadron consisting of six sail of the line and three frigates, and three thousand troops, his flag-ship the *Majestieux*. Napoleon said, he was visiting the fortresses on the Rhine when he wrote the orders for these expeditions. The first to reinforce Martinique and Guadaloupe, take Dominica and St. Lucia; the second to take Surinam and its dependencies, and strengthen St. Domingo; the third to St. Helena. It was before he quitted Milan, to visit the departments of the east, that he learnt the return of the Rochfort squadron, though he

blamed the precipitation with which Dominique had been abandoned. He saw in this fortunate cruize the advantage he had gained, he felicitated himself in having concealed the secret of the destination of Villeneuve, still he was uneasy about Nelson. In his dispatch, written at the moment of his departure from Milan, he said, it is uncertain what Nelson intends doing, it is very possible the English, having sent a strong squadron to the East Indies, have ordered Nelson to America. I am, however, of opinion, that he is still in Europe; the most natural supposition is, that he has returned to England to refit and turn his men over to other vessels, as some of his ships want docking; he impressed on the mind of the Minister of Marine the importance he attached to Villeneuve's having the means of victualling his fleet at Ferrol; he said, with respect to the Rochfort squadron, the English will, no doubt, send a squadron after them—you must not calculate upon what it is the duty of the admiralty to do, one hundred thousand men at Boulogne, seven sail of the line in the Texel, with an army of thirty thousand men and a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line at Brest. It may happen that Villeneuve will return suddenly, but he might also direct his course to India or to Jamaica, what responsibility then weighs on the heads of the Ministers, if they allow months to pass without sending a force to protect the colonies; it is scarcely probable England could, at any time, assemble sixty-five sail of the line, you should send to Villeneuve the

moment he arrives at Ferrol, as nothing gives greater courage and clears the ideas so well as knowing the position of the enemy. It is true, the English have one hundred and eleven sail of the line, of which three are guard ships, sixteen prison ships or hospitals, there remain then ninety-two, out of which twenty are under repair (that is not ready for sea) there remains then seventy-two, the disposition of which is, probably, eight or ten in India, three or four at Jamaica, three or four at Barbadoes, making sixteen or eighteen, leaving fifty-four or fifty-six with which it is necessary to blockade Cadix, Ferrol, and Brest, and to follow Villeneuve and Misiessy. The following is the state of our force—twenty-two at Brest, fifteen at Cadiz, twelve at Ferrol, twenty with Admiral Villeneuve, one at Lorient, five with Misiessy, total seventy-four; the fifteen at Cadiz occupy but six English, deduct the nine from seventy-four, there remains sixty-five, which I can unite. It is scarcely possible that the English can, at any time, assemble sixty-five. Villeneuve having sailed to the West Indies, was pursued by Nelson, he left the anchorage at Martinique on the 21st May, captured a convoy off Barbadoes and off the Azores, fell in with and captured a privateer, with a rich prize, a galleon; he was afterwards reinforced by Admiral Magon with two sail of the line, and received from him instructions to proceed off Ferrol, when he would be reinforced by five sail of the line under the command of Rear-Admiral Gourdon, and six sail of

the line, Spaniards, under the command of Admiral Grandelina, and a third squadron, under the command of Rear Admiral Lallemande, consisting of five sail of the line (formerly under the command of Misiessy.) It was with this mass of about forty sail of the line, that Villeneuve, driving away Admiral Cornwallis from Brest, would necessarily open the passage for Admiral Gantheaume, who had twenty-two sail of the line, and form at the entrance of the channel sixty-two sail of the line, six three-deckers, nine eighty-gun ships, and forty-seven seventy fours; they were to cover the two thousand two hundred and eighty-three transports of which the flotilla consisted; such was his plan, the execution of which was defeated by Villeneuve, who, after the action with Sir Robert Calder, went into Vigo, landed his wounded, and leaving three sail of the line there ran into Corunna, where he was reinforced by six sail of the line French, and ten sail of the line Spanish, making thirty-one sail of the line. Napoleon was at Boulogne at this time, and learned from England the situations of the different squadrons, he ordered Gantheaume to anchor in Bertheaume bay (Brest) and to be ready to join Villeneuve with the twenty-two sail of the line, three of them three-deckers. The 21st of August, he anchored in Bertheaume bay. The 10th of August, wind easterly, Villeneuve having been reinforced by the French and Spanish squadrons under Gourdon, Gravina and Grandelina, anchored in the bay of Arras near Ferrol, and put to sea the

13th. Nothing being then in sight, he first steered N.W., suddenly changed his course to the southward, out of sight of land, cruized four days off Cape St. Vincent, and entered Cadiz the 21st, the very day that he was expected at Brest; Lord Collingwood was before Cadiz with four sail of the line, was surprised and narrowly escaped. Whilst this was going on, Admiral Lallemande, with four sail of the line, was cruizing in the Bay of Biscay, his orders were to cruize to a certain period, then to wait in a particular latitude for orders, and if none reached him, then he was to proceed to Vigo, the 13th, in order to reinforce Villeneuve, he executed punctually his orders, and anchored on the 16th, two days after Villeneuve had sailed; and although he expected this reinforcement, he left no orders for Lallemande, compromising by this extraordinary conduct the safety of the squadron. Lallemande, finding no orders, put to sea again, and cruized till the 24th December, he took a fifty gun ship, a sloop of war, anchored at Rochfort the 24th of December. Napoleon was at Boulogne, the anniversary of his birth-day, when he learned from England the certainty of Villeneuve arriving at Cadiz, he was furious, saying it was treason. Villeneuve, before leaving Ferrol, said that he was going to Brest, and even wrote to Lallemande, who was to meet him at Vigo, and notwithstanding that he expected this squadron at Vigo, he passed the harbour without sending in. Napoleon ordered the Minister of Marine to make a report of his proceedings.

May 26th, Napoleon had been so long expecting his troops and baggage, horses, &c., that he began at length to show signs of impatience, and to suspect the good faith of the French government, but when I informed him that our transports were engaged for that purpose, and might shortly be expected at Elba, he seemed satisfied, complimented us on our generosity, and added, that had he known our ships were to bring his troops, he should not have had a moment's uneasiness. I dined with Napoleon the following day. While at table, a servant announced one of my officers, who wanted to see me, it was an officer whom I had stationed at a signal post, established by me on a commanding height. He reported seven sail in the N.W. quarter, standing towards the island. I had no doubt from this number, and the course these vessels were steering, that they were the long expected transports, Napoleon almost instantly rose from table, and I accompanied him to his garden, which with his house occupies the highest part of the works, and has a commanding view of the sea towards Italy, and the court of France. Full of anxiety, he stepped at the end of every walk, and looked eagerly for the vessels, we walked till it was quite dark, he was very communicative, and his conversation highly interesting. It was now near midnight—I told him with a good night-glass I should be able to see them, as from the breeze they had, they could not be very far from the island; he brought me a very fine night-glass made by Donaldson, which enabled me to see the vessels

distinctly, they were lying to. He was much pleased, and in the highest spirits wished me good night. At four in the morning he was out again giving orders, I was awaked by the beating of drums, and cries of "Vive l'Empereur." He ordered the harbour master and pilots out to the transports, made arrangements for the comfort of his troops, and provided stables for one hundred horses. At about seven o'clock, the troops were landed, and paraded before Napoleon, who addressed every officer, and private. They appeared quite delighted at again seeing their Emperor. Among the officers were several Poles, remarkably fine young men. At eight o'clock, I ordered half the crew of the Undaunted, to be sent on board the transport, and by four o'clock, the whole of the baggage, carriages, horses, &c., were landed, and the transport ready for sea. During the whole of the operation he was on the quay, in the midst of an excessively hot sun. When I informed him that everything was landed, and that the transports had completed their water, and were ready for sea, he expressed surprise, and said, pointing to some Italian sailors, those fellows would have been eight days doing what yours have done in as many hours, besides they would have broken my horses legs, not one of whom has received a scratch. General Cambrone, who came in command of the troops, remained in conversation with Napoleon the whole time. At four he mounted his horse, and rode into the country, and returned to dinner at seven.

At half-past seven he rose from table, and I accompanied him to his garden, where we walked till half-past eleven. It was during our conversation this night, that I told him it was generally thought in England, that he intended to rebuild Jerusalem, and that what gave rise to the supposition was, his convoking the Sanhedrim of the Jews at Paris. He laughed and said, the Sanhedrim was convoked for other purposes—it collected Jews who came from all parts of Europe, but particularly from Poland, and from them, he obtained information of the state of Poland. He added, that they gave him much useful information, that they were well informed as to the real state of the country on every point, and possessed all the information he wanted, and which he was able to turn to account, and found to be perfectly correct. Great numbers came to Paris on that occasion, amongst them several Jews from England.

In talking of his marshalls, he seemed to regret that he had not allowed some of them to retire ; he said they wanted retirement, he ought to have made a batch of young men who would have been attached to him ; like Massena, he considered Gouvion St. Cyr, one of his best soldiers. He said Ney was a man that lived on fire, that he would go into the canon's mouth, if he was ordered ; but he was not a man of talent or education. Marmont was a good soldier, but a weak man. Soult was a talented and a good soldier. Bernadotte, he said, had behaved ill on one occasion, and that he ought to have been

tried by a court-martial; he did not interfere or influence in any way his election by the Swedes. He had a high opinion of Junot (who stood at his side when writing a dispatch on a drum-head, on the field of battle, during which time a shot passed, turning up the earth about them, Junot remarked that it was very apropos, as he wanted sand to dry his ink). The following morning I requested an interview to take leave, on my sailing from Elba to join the commander-in-chief at Genoa. He was alone at the time—he seemed affected, and requested me to prolong my stay at Elba, and asked me if the wind was fair for Genoa. He said, "you are the first Englishman I have been acquainted with; and spoke in a flattering manner of England. He said he felt under great obligations to Sir Edward Pellew, and requested I would assure him of his gratitude, for the attentions shown him; hoped when the war with America was terminated, I would pay him a visit. I told him, I had that morning breakfasted with the Comte de Moncabri, on board the Dryade frigate, that he informed me of the Prince of Esling having had a dispute with Sir Edward Pellew, and that the government, had in consequence, some intention of removing him from the command at Toulon. He remarked, that he was one of his best marshalls, a man of superior talent; but that his health was bad in consequence of bursting a blood vessel. I said, it was understood that he was so much displeased with the conduct of the Prince of Esling in the Peninsula, that he had ordered him to Barege. He

replied that I was greatly mistaken, that at the time he alluded to, his health was very delicate, and his physicians recommended him to go to Nice, the place of his birth, and that after his recovery, he gave him the command at Toulon, which was just then vacant. I requested he would allow me to present Lieutenant Bailey, the agent of transports, who had been appointed to embark his guards, etc. at Savona. He thankcd Lieutenant Bailey for the attention paid to his troops, and the care which had been taken of his horses, and remarked how extraordinary it was, that no accident had happened to them (there were ninety three) either in the embarkation or disembarkation, and highly complimented him on his skill and attention, and added, that our sailors exceeded even the opinion which he had long since formed of them. During this conversation Napoleon gave a remarkable proof of his retentive memory, and of his information on subjects connected with naval matters. Lieutenant Bailey informed him, that after the guards had embarked, a violent gale of wind arose, with a heavy sea, which at one time threatened the destruction of the transports, and that he considered Savona a dangerous anchorage. Napoleon remarked, that if he had gone to a small bay (I think it was Vado) near Savona, he might have lain there in perfect safety.

He requested me to inform the commander-in-chief, how much he was satisfied with Lieutenant Bailey's kind and skilful conduct. He then thanked me for my attention to himself, and embracing

me a la Francaise, said, "Adieu Capitaine! comptez sur moi adieu!"—he seemed much affected.

In closing this narrative, I may be permitted to observe, that I endeavoured throughout, to execute the somewhat difficult mission with which I was charged, faithfully and zealously, but at the same time, with that deference and respect for the feelings of Napoleon, which appeared to me, no less due to his misfortunes, than to his exalted station and splendid talents.

Having shown in the foregoing conversation with Napoleon, his determination to have invaded England, had the force sent out to the West Indies eluded our fleet, it may not perhaps be considered uninteresting or irrevalent to state, to what circumstance was owing our escape from the misery, which would have been entailed on the country, had the enemy's fleet arrived in the channel.

No sooner had Nelson heard of Villeneuve's having sailed, and conjecturing that his destination was the West Indies, than he lost no time in pursuing him, and though with only ten sail of the line, and his ships short of provisions, his decision was instantly made, and in the incredible short time of seventy days, arrived in the West Indies, watered at Barbadoes, visited all the islands, returned, watered again in Tetuan bay, and anchored at Gibraltar. Nelson was most singularly fortunate in the wind; he passed the combined squadron which was eight days sail ahead of him, short of provisions

and water, he was obliged to run for Tetuan, where he anchored, the day Sir R. Calder fell in with the combined squadron. He left Tetuan the 26th, passed the straits, and presented himself before Cadiz; not finding the enemy there, he went off Cape St. Vincent, cruized off the coast of Portugal, crossed the bay of Biscay, without meeting a single vessel that could give him any intelligence, and with indefatigable perseverance ran over to the coast of Ireland, and stopping, on the supposition of their going to Brest, he detached nine of his best ships to reinforce Admiral Cornwallis, and with the Victory and Superb, returned to Portsmouth. The arrival of the Curieux in England, with Nelson's despatches, acquainting the Admiralty of the return of the combined squadrons, was most fortunate; having had so much the start of Villeneuve, it gave the admiralty time to order the Rochfort squadron to unite with Sir R. Calder's squadron, off Terrol. This circumstance alone, baffled all Napoleons plans; he did not conceive it possible, that the government could be aware of Villeneuve's return; he thought a fleet having eighteen days start, could not possibly be outstripped by any single vessel. The Curieux left the West Indies, the 16th of June, and arrived the 11th of July.

APPENDIX.

DISCOURS DE NAPOLEON À SA VIEILLE GARDE, A FONTAINEBLEAU, LE 20 AVRIL, 1814.

Les Officiers, Soldats, et Tambours, rassemblés autour de lui (il les adressa ainsi) en présence des Officiers Autrichiens, Russes, Anglois, et Prusses, les Commissaires des Puissances Allieés —

" Officiers, sous officiers et soldats de la Vieille Garde, Je vous fais mes adieux. Pendant vingt ans Je vous ai toujours trouvés braves et fidèles, marchant dans le chemin de la gloire. L'ennemi en me dérobant trois marches, étoit entré dans Paris. Je marchois pour l'en chasser. Je vous remercie du noble élans que vous montrates dans cette place-ci et ailleurs. Mais une partie de mon armée ne partageant pas vos sentimens m'abandonna, passa au camps ennemi. De ce moment la délivrance du capital devient impossible. J'aurois pu avec les trois quarts de l'armée qui me sont restéfideles et aidé des sentimens et des efforts de la grande majorité du peuple, porter mes pas sur la Loire ou dans plusieurs places, fortes et nourris la guerre pendant plusieurs années. Mais les guerres étrangéres et civiles déchiroient le territoire de notre beau pays,

et pour prix de tous ces sacrifices, et de tous ces ravages nous ne pourrions espérer de vaincre l'Europe réunie contre nous, ou la ville de Paris dont la plupart des habitans étoit sous l'influence d'une faction qui étoit parvenu à dominer. Toutes ces circonstances réunies, Je n'ai considéré que les interêts de la patrie, le repos de la France. J'ai fait le sacrifice de tous mes droits, Je suis prêt à faire celui de ma personne—le but de toute ma vie a été le bonheur et la gloire de la France. Quant à vous, soldats, soyez toujours fidelés dans le chemin du devoir et de l'honneur. Servez avec fidélite votre nouveau souverrain. La plus douce occupation de ma vie sera désormais de faire connôitre à la postérité ce que vous avez fait de grand et ma seule consolation sera d'apprendre ce que la France fera encore pour ajouter à la gloire de son nom. Vous ètes tous mes enfans. Je vous embrasse tous dans la personne de votre Général, et en embrassant ces aigles qui nous ont servi de guides en tant de périls et de jours fortunés." Lorsque Napoléon embrassa le Général Friant et les aigles, les larmes couloient des yeux de tous les vieux soldats. "Adieu," (dit il) " conservez moi dans votre souvenir."

LIST OF PERSONS ACCOMPANYING THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

General Koeler, Comte Clam, *	Austrian Envoys.
Colonel Campbell,	English Envoy.
Comte Bertrand,	Grand Marshal of the Palace.
Comte Druot,	General of Division, and Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor.
Baron Germanowki,	Major of the Light Horse Guards.
Chevalier Foureau,	First Physician to the Emperor.
Chevalier Baillon, Chevalier Deschamps,	Grooms of the Bedchamber.
Chevalier Perusse,	Treasurer.
Mons. Gatte,	Apothecary.
„ Callin,	Comptroller of the Household.
„ Rothery,	Secretary to the Grand Marshal.
„ Gueval,	Clerk to the Comptroller.
„ Pelard,	Valet de Chambre.
„ Hubert,	Ditto.
„ Sotain,	Master of the Ceremonies.
„ Purron,	Officer of the Ceremonies.
„ Rousset,	Chief Cook.
„ Lafosse,	Chief Baker.
„ Gaillard, „ Archambault, „ Paillett, „ Berthault, „ Villmaime,	Valets.
„ Dennis,	Keeper of the Wardrobe.
„ Gandron, „ Mathiers, „ Rousseau,	Domestics.

* Aide-de-Camp to Prince Swartzenberg.

„ Armandran,		Rider.
„ Noverve,		Body Servant.
„ Besson,	}	Grooms of the Stole.
„ Renaud,		
„ Chauvin,	}	Couriers.
„ Sentini,		

H. M. S. Undaunted, off Antibes,
April 29th, 1814.

Sir—I have the honor to enclose for your information copies of letters I received from Colonel Campbell, commissioned by Lord Viscount Castlereagh, to accompany Napoleon to the island of Elba, likewise a copy of Sir Richard King's order. In compliance with Colonel Campbell's requisition, I embarked Napoleon at Frejus on the 28th inst.; he was accompanied by General Koller, Austrian Commissioner, and Comte Clam, Aide-de-Camp to Prince Swartzenbergh, with a numerous suite. The Russian Commissioner, Prince Schouwaloff, and the Prussian Comte Truxos (who accompanied him to Frejus) returned to Paris that night.

I have the honor to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient
and faithful servant,
Thomas Ussher.

To Sir Edward Pellew, Bart.,
Commander-in-Chief,
&c. &c. &c.

Caledonia, Genoa, 3rd May, 1814.

My Dear Sir—Your letters reached me by the *Merope* to-day only, and I fully approve of all you have done, in compliance with the request of Col. Campbell, you will receive this by Locker, who I send over to receive any communications Colonel Campbell may have to confide to me. I need not desire you to assure the Colonel of his having my entire confidence, as you know him so well. He will take an order for your proceeding to Frejus for Madame Pauline, and I am sure you have too liberal a mind not to do everything that is handsome by your enemies * * * * * Take care to treasure up your anecdotes for us all, who are eager to devour * * * * When you have landed the lady, you may remain in that quarter or return to Genoa to me, and leave the *Rainbow* in charge, giving every caution that nothing unpleasant arises between him and B——. But should any popular insurrection arise, I desire he will abstain from taking any part whatever, but observe the strictest neutrality. He will, no doubt, be aided on such an event by the Colonel and Austrian Minister.

Believe me ever,
Faithfully your's,
Edwd. Pellew.

P.S.—Locker will tell you that we heard overland of you and Napier being on shore at Marseilles, before your own report of opening that communication.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Edward Pellew, dated 16th May, on board the Caledonia, Genoa.

The desire of Colonel Campbell for a ship of war, appears to be for the purpose of keeping up his communication with Lord Castlereagh, and the respectability due to his situation, it is presumed, he will soon be directed to withdraw from Elba. Whenever the guards and followers of the Emperor are sent over, seven transports are employed to embark these objects at Savone whenever they arrive, when, probably, Elba will be left entirely to its Sovereign. I have received a letter from Lieutenant Smith, acting by your authority as Governor of the island of Capraja. I conclude long before this, that island is possessed by the Austrian troops, and that you have withdrawn that officer to his ship. I am very sorry to hear you have been unwell, and hope a little rest, which we shall all soon have, will restore you.

At the House of General Drenny,
Four, P.M.

Sir—I have the honor to acquaint you of my arrival here from Paris, with communications which regard the officer in command of his Britannic Majesty's ships on this station. Having been lately wounded, and much fatigued, as well as from other circumstances, I trust you will excuse my not waiting on you, nor does the bearer know when I

can have that honor. May I, therefore, request to see you as soon as convenient, in order that I may state to you the nature of my mission with which his Majesty's minister, Lord Viscount Castlereagh, has charged me.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

NEIL CAMPBELL, Col.

Attached to the British Embassy at the Court of St. Petersburg.

Marseilles, April 25th, 1814,
Eight, P.M.

SIR—I have the honor to acquaint you that Lord Viscount Castlereagh, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has charged me with a mission, to accompany the late Chief of the French government, Napoleon Bonaparte, to the isle of Elba, to whose secure asylum in that island, it is the wish of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection. Having, afterwards, written to his Lordship, that Napoleon had requested that a British ship of war might be given to him as a convoy to the French corvette, and at his option for embarkation, in case of preferring it, his Lordship wrote to me as follows, dated Paris, April 18th :—" My instructions furnish you with authority to call upon his Majesty's officers, by sea and land, to give all due facility and assistance to the execution of the service with which you are en-

trusted. I cannot foresee that any enemy can molest the French corvette, on board of which, it is proposed, Napoleon shall proceed to his destination. If, however, he shall continue to desire it, you are authorised to call upon any of his Majesty's cruizers (so far as the public service may not be thereby prejudiced) to see him safe to the island of Elba. You will not, however, suffer this arrangement to be made a cause of delay." Napoleon has, since his departure from Fontainbleau towards St. Tropez, pressed me to proceed here for this object, which I beg leave to submit to your consideration, hoping, that as the desire to proceed immediately to his destination, as in unison with that of the Allied Powers, which would be defeated by delay; in referring to the Admiral commanding his Britannic Majesty's fleet, you will find yourself at liberty to proceed to St. Tropez with his Majesty's ship under your command.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
NEIL CAMPBELL, Col.
Attached to the Mission of H. E. General
Viscount Cathcart.

To Captain Ussher, senior officer of
His Britannic Majesty's ships,
off Marseilles.

Colonel Campbell informed me, that having been appointed by Lord Castlereagh to accompany Napoleon to the island of Elba, he arrived at

Fontainebleau on the 16th, at nine in the morning; he met there Comte Bertrand, who expressed the Emperor's anxiety to proceed to his destination, and of his wish to change the place of embarkation from St. Tropez to Piombino. As there could be no certainty of his being received by the Commandant of Elba, and by going to Piombino that would be previously ascertained. If refused, he might be driven off the island by tempest while waiting permission to land. He expressed his hope that Colonel Campbell would remain at Elba until his affairs were settled, otherwise an Algerine corsair might land and do what he pleased. He seemed much satisfied when Colonel Campbell told him he had Lord Castlereagh's instructions to remain there for some time, if necessary, towards the security of Napoleon, in his communications by sea. After breakfast, Comte Flahaut informed the Commissioners that the Emperor would see them after he had attended Mass. The Commissioners were introduced in the following order:—Russian general Prince Schouwalloff, who remained five minutes; Austrian general Baron Koller, the same time; Colonel Comte Truxos; Colonel Campbell, quarter of an hour, he asked him about his wounds and service, where his family resided, and seemed very affable.

Colonel Campbell received from Paris a copy of the order from General Dupont, Minister of War, to the Commandant at Elba, to give up the island to Napoleon, taking away the guns, stores, &c.

This displeased him exceedingly; he had a conversation with General Koller on the subject, and requested him to send his aide-de-camp with a note relating to it to Paris, wishing to know how he was to protect himself against any corsair, saying, if this conduct was continued he would go to England. A note was presented to the Commissioners by Comte Bertrand, who added verbally, that the Emperor would not disembark unless the guns were left for security and defence.

April 20th, the horses were ordered at nine A.M., he desired to see General Koller, he spoke warmly against the separation from his wife and child, also of the order for withdrawing the guns from Elba, saying, he had nothing to do with the Provisional Government, his treaty was with the Allied Sovereigns, and to them he looked for every act; he was not yet destitute of means to continue the war, but it was not his wish to do so. General Koller endeavoured to persuade him that the treaty would be fulfilled with honor. He then sent for Colonel Campbell, and resumed the conversation similar to what passed on the 17th, services, wounds, &c. the system and discipline of the British army, corporal punishments necessary, but to be applied seldom. He was much satisfied at Lord Castlereagh placing a British man-of-war at his disposal, if he wished it, for convoy or passage, complimented the nation. He then said he was ready; the Duke of Bassano, General Belliard, Arnano, and four or five others his aide-de-camps, with about twenty

other officers, were in the antichamber. On entering the first room there was only General Belliard and Arnano, the aide-de-camp suddenly shut the door, so that it is presumed he was taking a particular leave of them ; the door then opened, the aide-de-camp called out, The Emperor ! he passed with a salute and smile, descended into the court, addressed his guards (see appendix) embraced General Petit and the colours, entered his carriage and drove off.

The 21st, slept at Brienne, in a large hotel, a good supper being provided ; the Emperor supped with General Bertrand.

22nd, slept at Nevers, cries of "Vive l'Empereur." In the morning he sent for Colonel Campbell, the table was laid, he desired the servant to lay another cover, and invited him to stay and breakfast. General Bertrand also joined them. He asked Colonel Campbell who commanded in the Mediterranean, he said, he did not know for certain, but believed Sir Sidney Smith was one of the admirals. When Comte Bertrand sat down, he said, laughing, "que pensez vous, Sydney Smith, amiral dans la Mediterraneé ;" he then related his having thrown several thousand shot from his ships on shore without killing a man (this was at Acre.) It was his great source, for he paid so much for every shot brought in by the men, "Il m'envoya les parliamentaires comme un second Marlborough."

The 23rd, before the journey this morning, he requested Colonel Campbell to go on, in order to expedite the British man of war, and also to write to Admiral Emeriau at Toulon, to expedite the French corvette; he sent off to Auxerre to order his heavy baggage, with the escort of six hundred guards and horses to go by land to Piombino; but if that was objected to, to go by Lyons and drop down the Rhone. Colonel Campbell proceeded on by Lyons and Aix, when he learned that I was at anchor in the bay of Marseilles, and where he arrived the following evening of the 25th.

The morning of the 20th, the Commissioners communicated to Comte Bertrand the facilities which had been obtained in regard to the several difficulties presented, respecting a director of posts for the horses, and British man-of-war for convoy or conveyance, and a copy of the order given by General Dupont. After the formation of the Provisional Government, a person was asked by Napoleon what he thought of his situation, and whether he thought there were any measures to be taken, he replied in the negative; he asked what he would do in a similar situation, he said, he would blow his brains out; he reflected a moment, "Oui, je puis faire cela mais ceux qui me veulent du bien ne peuvent en profiter, et ceux qui me veulent du mal, cela leur feroit plaisir.

Frejus, April 27th, 1814.
Seven, A. M.

My Dear Sir—I have this moment arrived here, and observed your ship in the offing. As circumstances have rendered it necessary to change the place of Napoleon's embarkation from St. Tropez to Frejus, I despatch the bearer to announce it to you. I passed him on the road, so I do not know whether he means to wait for the corvette ; but as I shall know in the course of the day, I shall lose no time in sending off to acquaint you, "*in case you do not come on shore after you anchor.*" Napoleon will arrive here in an hour or two. As I have had no rest, I am just going to bed, and shall leave directions to let me know when you anchor, in order that I may be on the look out for your coming on shore. That there may be no mistake, will you haul down the red flag on quitting your ship, and I shall have a person ready to observe it. My quarter is at Mr. Michel's Rue de St. Joseph. Information was sent to St. Tropez for you of the change.

Your's truly,

N. Campbell.

COPIE DES ARTICLES DU TRAITÉ DE PARIS, DU 11 AVRIL, 1814.

ART. 1.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoleon renonce pour lui et ses successeurs et descendants, ainsi que pour chacun des membres de sa famille, a tout droit de Souveraineté, et domination, tant sur l'Empire Français, et le royaume d'Italie que sur tout autre pays.

ART. 2.

L. L. M. M. l'Empereur Napoleon et l'Imperatrice Marie Louise conserveront ces titres et qualitès, pour en jouir leur vie durant. La mère, les frères, sœurs, neveux et nièces de l'Empereur, conserveront egalement partout ou ils se trouveront ces titres de Princes de sa famille.

ART. 3.

L'Isle d'Elbe adoptée par S. M. l'Empereur Napoleon pour le lieu de son séjour formera sa vie durant, une principauté separée, qui sera possedée par lui, en toute sourveraineté et propriété. Il sera donné en outre en toute propriété a l'Empereur Napoleon, un revenu annuel de deux millions de francs, en rente sur le grand livre de France, dont un million reversible à l'Imperatrice.

ART. 4.

Toutes les Puissances Allieés, l'engageant a employer leurs bons offices, pour faire respecter par les barbaresques le pavillon, et le territoire de l'Ile d'Elbe, et pour que dans ses rapports avec les barbaresques, elle soit assimileé à la France.

ART. 5.

Les Duchés de Parme, Plaisance et Guastalla, seront donnés en toute propriété et souverainété à S. M. l'Imperatrice Marie Louise. Ils passeront a son fils, et à sa descendance en ligne directe. Le Prince son fils prendra dès ce moment le titre du Prince de Parme, Plaisance et Guastalla.

ART. 6.

Il sera reservé dans les pays auxquels l'Empereur Napoleon renonce pour lui et sa famille, des domaines ou donne des rentes sur le grand livre de France, produisant un revenu annuel net, et deduction faite, de tout charge de deux millions, cinq cent mille francs, les domaines ou rentes appartiéndront en toute propriété, et pour en disposer comme bon semblera aux Princes et Princesses de sa famille, et séront repartés entre eux de manière à ce que le revenu de chacun, soit dans la proportion suivante savoir :—

	Francs.
A Madame Mère - - -	300,000
Roi Joseph et la Reine - -	500,000
Roi Louis - - -	200,000

	Francs.
Reine Hortense et ses enfans, -	400,000
Roi Jérome et la Reine - -	500,000
Princesse Elise - - -	300,000
Princesse Pauline - - -	300,000

Les Princes et Princesses de la famille de l'Empereur Napoleon consérveront en autre, tous les biens, meubles et immeubles, de quelque nature que ce soit, qu'ils possédent titre particulière, et notament les rentes dont ils jouissent (également comme particuliers) sur le grand livre de France, ou le monte Napoleone à Milan.

ART. 7.

Le traitement annuel de l'Imperatrice Josephine sera reduit à un million en domaines, ou en inscriptions sur le grand livre de France. Elle continuera à jouir en toute propriété de tous ces biens, meubles et immeubles particuliers, et pourra en disposér conformement aux loix Français.

ART. 8.

Il sera donné au Prince Eugène Vice Roi d'Italie, un etablissement convenable hors de France.

ART. 9.

Les propriétés S. M. l'Empereur Napoleon possède en France, soit comme domaines extraordinaires, soit comme domaines privés resteront à la Couronne,

sur les fonds placés par l'Empereur Napoléon, soit sur le grand livre, soit sur la banque de France, soit sur les actions des forêts soit de toute autre manière, et dont S. M. fait l'abandon à la Couronne, il sera reservé un capital, qui n'excédra pas deux millions, pour être employés, en gratifications, en faveur des personnes, qui seront portiees sur l'Etat.

ART. 10.

Tous les diamans de la Couronne, resteront à la France.

ART. 11.

L'Empereur Napoleon fera retournér au tresor, et aux autres caisses publiques, toutes les sommes et tous les éffets, qui en auraient été deplacés par ces ordres, á l'exception de ce qui appartient de la liste civile.

ART. 12.

Les dettes de la maison de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, telles qu'elles se trouvent au jour de la signature du present traité seront immediatement acquittés, sur les arrières dues par le trésor public á la liste civile, d'après les états qui seront signés par un Commissaire nommé a cet effet.

ART. 13.

Les obligations de Monte Napoleone de Milan, envers tous les Créanciers soit Français, soit étrangerés, seront exactement remplis, sans qu'il soit aucun changement à cet égard.

ART. 14.

On donnera tous les saufs conduits nécessaries pour le libre voyage de S. M. l'Empéreur Napoléon, et de l'Imperatrice, des Princes et Princesses, et de toutes les personnes de leur suite qui voudront les accompagner, ou s'établir hors de France, ainsi que pour le passage, de tous les équipages, chevaux et éffèts qui leur appartiennent. Les Puissances Alliées, donneront en conséquence, des officiers et quelques hommes d'escorte.

ART. 15.

La Garde Impériale Français fournira un détachement de douze à quinze cents hommes tout armés, pour servir d'escorte jusqu'à St. Tropez lieu de l'embarquement.

ART. 16.

Il sera fourni une corvette armée et les battiments de transport nécessaire pour conduire, au lieu de sa destination S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon ainsi que sa maison. La corvette démeurera en toute propriété á sa Majesté.

ART. 17.

Sa M. l'Emperéur Napoléon pourra emmenér avec lui et conserver pour sa garde quatre cents hommes de bonne volonté, tant officiers que sous officiers et soldats.

ART. 18.

Tous les Français qui auront suivé S. M. l'Empéreur Napoléon ou sa famille, seront tenus, s'ils ne veulent perdre leur qualite de Français, de rentrer en France, dans le térme de trois ans, à moins qu'ils ne soient compris dans les exceptions, que le gouvernement Français se resérve d'accordér après l'expiration de ce terme.

ART. 19.

Les troupes Polonaises de touts grades, qui sont au service de France, auront la liberté, de retourner chez elles, en conservant armes, et bagages, comme un temoinage de leurs services honorables. Les officiers, sous officiers et soldats, consérveront les décorations qui leur ont été accordéés, et les pensions attachés à ces décorations.

ART. 20.

Les hautes Puissances Alliées, garantissent l'exécution de tous les articles du présent traité. Elles s'engagent à obtenir qu'ils soient adoptés et garantis par la France.

ART. 21.

Le présent traité sera ratifié, et les ratifications en seront échangés à Paris dans le terme de deux jours ou plutôt si faire le peut.

Fáit à Paris le onze Avril, mil huit cent quatorze.

(Signé)

NESELRODE,
Sécrétaire de l'Empereur de la Russie.

NEY,
M'DONALD,
BERTHIER,
Maréchaux de l'Empire.

Pour copie conforme,
E. H. LOCKER.

FROM ELBA TO PARIS,

BY

COLONEL LABORDE.

At Elba the Emperor lived much in the same way as he did in Paris. All strangers who were presented to him experienced a kind reception. After breakfast, he frequently took an airing in an open carriage, and almost always accompanied by General Bertrand. His favourite drive was about the neighbourhood of St. Martin, a place situated on the other side of the gulf. He dined at six o'clock, and in the evening received company, consisting of the residents of the island and their ladies, foreigners, officers, &c. The balls were very numerously attended. Princess Pauline, his Majesty's sister, did the honors at those entertainments, at which a vast throng of elegant ladies were always present.

During our abode on the island, the officers and sub-officers of the guard, together with several ladies, formed an amateur theatrical company. In the theatre attached to the Emperor's residence, several performances took place, at which his Majesty and all his household were present.

Subsequently, the Emperor built, at his own expense, a theatre at Porto Ferrajo. It was opened, during the carnival of 1815, with a grand masked ball, which commenced at six in the evening and ended at seven on the following morning. His Majesty and his suite were present at the ball, all attired in black dominos.

The Emperor frequently went to Porto Longo, which was about two miles distant from Porto Ferrajo. Colonel Germanoski, who was the military commandant of the former place, frequently gave brilliant balls, to which the officers of the Imperial Guard and the ladies of Porto Ferrajo were invited. I often saw there the officers of an English ship, which was lying at anchor off Porto Longo.

Among the foreign ships which visited Elba, there were several belonging to the regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. It is impossible to describe the joy manifested by the crews of these ships whenever his Majesty honoured them with a visit. Their shouts of joy made the air resound. The captains said, that they regarded the Emperor as a God. These ships never departed without carrying with them proofs of the Emperor's generosity.

The Emperor behaved with marked liberality; he made several new roads which facilitated communication between various parts of the island. The inhabitants owe to him a debt of obligation which can never be forgotten.

It has been falsely stated, that several eminent

individuals from France came to Elba, for the purpose of making arrangements with the Emperor for his return. Only one Frenchman, of any consequence, visited Elba; this was Henry de Chaboulon, formerly secretary to the Emperor, and his visit was but of short duration. During the nine months of our sojourn on the island no extraordinary circumstance occurred. We passed our time very gaily, amidst balls and other entertainments.

Every Sunday the Emperor attended mass, which was performed by Arrighi, the Vicar General of the island, in his Majesty's apartments; all the civil and military authorities being present.

The preparations for our departure from the island were made with the greatest secrecy. On the morning of the 26th of February (the day of our embarkation) whilst walking on the promenade at the harbour, in company with Baron Galeuzzinio, the Civil Intendant of the island, I was informed that General Cambronne wished to see me at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. I waited upon him at the time appointed, and he directed me to go to General Druot to receive orders. The latter addressed me as follows:—

"The labourers who are employed in the gardens of the owners, leave off their work at three o'clock; at four, the troops take their rations. You must then immediately pack up your arms and luggage, and hold yourself in readiness to embark at five o'clock. Each officer to take only a portmanteau.'

These orders at first astounded me; but after a moment's pause, I ventured to ask General Druot where we were going, and whether I could take my wife with me?

I cannot say, replied he, obey the orders I have given you.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the troops embarked. Three hundred men and the staff battalion went on board the ship of war *Inconstant;* the rest of the troops were dispersed in different transport vessels. The Emperor after taking leave of Madame Mère and the Princess Pauline, with whom he had dined, repaired on board the *Inconstant* at eight o'clock in the evening, accompanied by Generals Bertrand, Druot, and Cambronne. We speedily set sail, and no one knew whither we were bound, until a trivial circumstance solved the riddle.

Lieutenant Taillade, an able officer, had commanded the brig *Inconstant* during our residence at Elba, but he had been superseded by Captain Chantard, who had arrived from the continent a few months previously. On the 28th of February, Lieutenant Taillade, who was perfectly acquainted with the navigation of the Mediterranean, observing that the new commander of the brig was steering towards a point opposite to the coast of France, said aloud to the officers on deck—"gentlemen, we are going either to Spain or Africa."

Colonel Mallet reported these words to the Emperor, who immediately sent for Taillade.

"Where are we?" said his Majesty, addressing that officer.

"Sire," answered Taillade, "we are steering towards Africa."

"I will not go there," said the Emperor, laughing, "Taillade," pursued he, "I confer on you the rank of captain. Take the command of the brig, and land me on the coast of France.

"Sire," said Taillade, "your Majesty shall be there to-morrow at noon."

The wind, which on the 27th had fallen almost to a calm, and left us off the island of Capraya, now rose to a strong breeze, and our new captain, in a few hours, brought us within sight of Antibes. At three o'clock, on the 1st of March, we landed in the gulf of Juan, between Caunes aud Antibes.

The only incident worthy of remark that occurred whilst we were at sea, was our falling in with the French brig *Zephyr*, commanded by Lieutenant Andrieux, which frequently sailed to and fro between Toulon and Leghorn. On discovering the brig, the captain of the *Inconstant* intimated the circumstance to the Emperor, who immediately ordered that all the men on deck should lie flat down with their faces to the ground. Captain Taillade then took his speaking trumpet and called to Andrieux—

"Whither are you bound, Commander?"

"To Leghorn.—And you?"

"To Genoa."

"How is the great man?"

"Very well."

And the two brigs, after passing close alongside of each other, were soon far apart. The captain of the French brig little suspected that the great man was at that moment within hearing.

Before the vessel reached the landing place, the Emperor directed Captain Lamourette, commanding the first company of Chasseurs, to go ashore in a boat, accompanied by thirty men and one drummer. He was ordered to take possession of a fortification, which had been established a considerable time previously for the protection of the bay, and which his Majesty supposed was occupied by a detachment from the garrison of Antibes. Captain Lamourette found no one there; but urged by the desire of gaining partizans for the Emperor, and seeing the garrison manœuvre on the glacis, he thought he had only to show himself and take possession of the fortress. Thither he accordingly marched. The sentinel advanced to meet him with the question—"Who goes there?"

"The Emperor's guard," answered Captain Lamourette.

The sentinel presented arms and allowed the detachment to pass; but the officer commanding the posts, when he perceived that the troops wore the tri-coloured cockade, ordered the draw-bridge to be raised, and the detachment of the guard was captured. The unfortunate detachment was conducted to Toulon, and there imprisoned in the casemates of Fort Lamalgue. The officers were tried by a court-martial, and would probably have been con-

demned to death, had not the authorities commanding at Toulon received tidings of the Emperor's arrival in Paris. The intrepid prisoners were then immediately liberated. They were then feasted and entertained, and paraded in triumph through the city. In the course of a few days the detachment arrived in Paris.

The disembarkation from the *Inconstant* was concluded at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st of March. I landed in the first boat, together with the worthy and respected General Drouot. There was a custom-house station in a wooden barrack near the spot where we landed, and its occupants, as soon as they descried us, hastily mounted the tri-coloured cockade.

His Majesty, having landed, ordered his bivouac to be established in an olive grove, between the gulf of Juan and the high road leading to Nizza, at a short distance from Carmes and the fortress of Antibes. As soon as the troops were landed, and before they could be posted in the proper stations requisite for covering his Majesty's bivouac, Lieut. Sarri, a young naval officer of distinguished courage, received orders to sail with the whole flotilla to Corsica. This order was obeyed with such singular promptitude and activity, that a young orderly officer, belonging to a family of the island of Elba, who had fallen asleep in a corner of the vessel, was astonished, on awaking, to find the vessel several miles from the shore.

A few hours after the disembarkation, the staff

physician, Emery, of the guard, whose family and numerous friends were in Grenoble, was ordered by the Emperor to proceed with the utmost haste to that city, and to seek out young Dumouline, who had visited the Emperor several times previous to our departure. His Majesty wished to make arrangements with him for printing the proclamations dated from the gulf of Juan, and getting them circulated in Grenoble and its neighbourhood.

The troops having been encamped round the Emperor's bivouac, General Cambroune, with a strong detachment, was despatched to Carmes with orders to collect as many horses as possible (paying for them a price beyond their value) and, at the same time, to guard the roads, and permit no travellers to pass. The General issued orders to the Post Masters prohibiting them from furnishing any one with horses without previous authorisation. A few hours after these orders were issued, a courier of the Prince of Monaco announced the approaching arrival of his highness, and required to be furnished with a considerable number of horses; but General Cambroune decidedly refused permission for supplying them. In a short time the Prince himself arrived, and earnestly solicited that the Emperor would permit him to continue his journey. His Majesty ordered that the Prince should be allowed to proceed.

Captain Cazabianca, a native of Corsica, and a very meritorious officer, was sent by the Emperor

to the Commandant of the fortress of Antibes; Colonel Cuneo (likewise a Corsican) with directions to liberate the detachment that had been captured; but Colonel Cuneo refused to obey the order, and even detained Captain Cazabianca. That brave officer, driven to despair by the thought of being prevented sharing the dangers of his companions in arms, made an attempt to escape by scaling the walls of the fortress. On the following day he was found lying in the moat, severely hurt. He was conveyed to the hospital of Antibes, where he remained for a considerable time. The commissary Banthier was next despatched; but he received warning not to approach the fortress. At last I was sent to the Commandant of Antibes; but scarcely had I reached the first outposts than he called to me—"Go back, or I will fire upon you." Finding it impossible to gain access to the fortress, I sent intimation of that fact to General Druot.

We left our bivouac about eleven o'clock at night. The Emperor, at the head of his handful of brave followers, marched in the direction of Grasse, which place we reached at eleven o'clock on the 2d of March. The column halted and took up a position at the outskirts of the town, where the Emperor's breakfast was prepared. During the repast, his Majesty received several of the most distinguished residents of Grasse, among others, an officer decorated with the cross of honor; he had lost his sight, and was led in by his wife. The Emperor received him in the kindest manner

imaginable. The officer begged permission to kiss his Majesty's hand: the Emperor embraced him.

Breakfast being ended, and the troops (who were supplied with provisions and various sorts of wine by the inhabitants) having had a little rest, we pursued our march, leaving our artillery behind; indeed, it would have been impossible to convey it along the steep and difficult roads we had to traverse. We had a most fatiguing day, threading our way through the narrow passes of Provence. We marched along paths which scarcely afforded sufficient width for one man, and which were surrounded by frightful abysses; in short, we were in such a position that fifty men might have checked our advance. Our column, which consisted of between 1000 and 1100 meu, extended over such a lengthened space, that it might have been taken for a column of 2,500 men. We marched the whole day amidst snow and ice. The Emperor was obliged to alight from his horse, and to go several miles on foot. He was so fatigued, that we found it necessary occasionally to support him by holding his arms, and he several times fell, after a march of many hours. Having advanced about twenty leagues on our way to Paris, we arrived at a solitary country house, not far from the village of Cernon. There the Emperor passed the night, with such accommodation as the desert place was capable of affording. Our beds consisted of bundles of straw, and his Majesty rested as well there, perhaps better, than

he had frequently reposed in the palace of the Tuilleries, though he was surrounded by only 500 men of his guard and a few officers. The rest of the column, which was scattered about, passed a miserable night, and all our force was not collected together until the following day, the 3rd of March, about midday. We then marched on Castellone. From thence we sent forward our baggage, and the column marched daily, in groups, in the direction of Grenoble. On the 3rd, the Emperor passed the night at Barcone, and on the 4th at Digne. On the 5th, General Cambroune, with the advanced guard of forty men, made himself master of the bridge and the fortress of Sisteron. The Emperor passed the night of the 5th at Gap, and the advanced guard was quartered at Mure.

During our march across the extent of country, no remarkable incident occurred. The inhabitants received us kindly, but without declaring for or against us. Throughout this long march we gained only two recruits, a gen-d'arme and a foot soldier. At length, to our great joy, we emerged from this mountainous district, and entered upon the smiling vicinity of the Mure, from thence to proceed to Grenoble.

The Emperor, being informed that the garrison of Grenoble had marched out with the intention of preventing him from csossing the bridge of the Mure, made his arrangements, dividing his small force, scarcely 1100 men, into three columns. The first, consisting of three companies of Chasseurs,

the Polish lancers, mounted and unmounted, and eight or ten men of the marine guard, formed the advanced guard, commanded by General Cambroune, assisted by the intrepid Colonel Mallet. The second column, commanded by Captain Loubers of the Grenadiers, consisted of three companies of Grenadiers, the Artillery company, and about thirty officers without men, headed by the Corsican Major Pacconi; the Emperor, the whole of the staff, and the *caisse*, drawn by two mules, accompanied the second column. The third column, consisting of the Corsican battalion, commanded by the Chef de Battaillon Guaso, formed the rear guard. As we approached the Mure, General Cambroune ordered me, accompanied by sixty Chasseurs, commanded by Lieutenant Jeanmaire, and a few Polish lancers, to form the head, and to dispose our first column in such a position that I might seem to be followed by 1,200 men, though I had with me scarcely three hundred. It appeared that we were expected, for I found the whole municipal body assembled at the Mairie.

In a few moments General Cambroune came up with the first column. Perceiving an enemy's post, stationed in some houses on the road leading to Grenoble, the General posted a party of our troops, commanded by an officer, within pistol shot of them. He dispatched Captain Raoul of the Artillery, accompanied by the Quarter Master of the Mamelukes, to the officer commanding the post of the 5th Regiment, to request that he would treat with

us ; but he could not be prevailed on to do so. The General went to him himself; but he received for answer that all negociation was forbidden.

General Cambroune immediately stationed his column on the place in front of the Mairie, and adopted the requisite measures for guarding against a surprise. These operations being completed, we proceeded to an inn, opposite to the Mairie, where I had ordered a dinner for twelve. No sooner had we sat down to table, than a peasant, who had been directed by General Cambroune to watch the enemy's troops, informed us that the column was beginning to move, apparently with the intention of retiring behind the Mure, blowing up the bridge over which we had passed, and thereby cutting us off from all communication with the Emperor. We immediately stationed ourselves on the bridge, of which we retained military possession throughout the night, whilst the enemy's force retired on Grenoble, three leagues distant.

General Cambroune sent to inform the Emperor of what was going on, and about nine o'clock on the following morning, his Majesty arrived at the point of which we were in possession, placed himself at the head of the troops, and directed General Cambroune where to march. The brave Colonel Mallet took the command of the companies of Chasseurs, forming the head of the column, and the Polish Lancers, commanded by the gallant Colonel Germanoski, covered the right side of the march. The officers, without commands, headed

by Major Pacconi, covered our left, and we marched strait towards the battalion of the 5th Regiment of the line. The Voltigeur company was stationed at the furthest extremity of the village. The Emperor commanded Colonel Mallet to advance with the musquet on the left arm and the bayonet inverted, the point being in the mouth of the barrel. The Colonel observed that to adopt such a step in the face of a force whose intentions were unknown, and whose first impulse might be hostile, was hazardous. The Emperor replied hastily—"Mallet, do as I order."

On arriving within pistol shot of the regiment, the Emperor exclaimed in a loud and firm tone of voice—"Soldiers, behold your Emperor, which of you will fire on him!"

A young officer, aide-de-camp to General Marchand, Commandant of Grenoble, and who had been instructed by his General to oppose our advance, gave the word of command—"Fire."

He was answered by a unanimous shout of "Vive l'Empereur."

No sooner had we made friends with the 5th Regiment, than Dumoulin appeared, wearing in his hat the tri-coloured cockade. He advanced to the Emperor, and alighting from his horse, he eagerly exclaimed—"Sire, I come to offer you 100,000 men and my arm, and to assure you of the fidelity of your good people of Grenoble."

The Emperor seemed pleased, and smiling, said, "mount your horse, Dumoulin, and we can talk together on our march. I accept your offer."

On the evening of our arrival at Grenoble, the brave young Dumoulin was appointed one of the Emperor's orderly officers, and his Majesty invested him with the decoration of the Legion of Honor. During the whole of our march from Grenoble to Paris, Dumoulin, with a party of fifty hussars of the gallant 4th Regiment, formed our advance guard, and rendered the greatest service to the Emperor's cause.

Immediately after Dumoulin joined us, the troops were ranged in marching order. The Chasseurs of the guard formed the advance guard, and I, accompanied by some pioneers and a party of Polish Lancers, marched at the head, in order to prepare for the entrance into Grenoble. We passed Vizilla without any remarkable occurrence. About four in the afternoon, a young sub-lieutenant of grenadiers of the 7th Regiment of the line, came up to me, and said, "Major, is the Emperor far off?"

"No," replied I, "only half a league: you will soon see him."

"My Colonel," continued the sub-lieutenant, "whom you will come up with in about twenty minutes, is impatiently waiting his Majesty at the head of his fine regiment.

Accordingly we soon joined the unfortunate Labedoyere at the head of his fine regiment. He advanced to meet me, and enquired whether the Emperor was far distant. I replied that he would be soon in sight. The joy manifested by the

Colonel, at this information, is indescribable. I continued my march to the gates of Grenoble, and had begun to think about entering the city, when the Emperor came up, accompanied by his staff and the Polish Lancers. Without a moment's delay I turned to the gate, which opened to the suburb of the town, I found it closed, though it was only half-past six in the evening. I required that it should be opened. Captain Raoul, of the artillery, made the same demand, as did likewise the Major of the 11th Infantry, who was with his regiment on the outside of the garrison. The Major, calling to the Colonel of the 5th Regiment of the line, who had possession of the keys, said, "Open the gate, my good fellow, the Emperor is here." The Colonel replied, "I dare not; I have pledged my word of honor to the Prefect (Fourrier) and the General (Marchand) to prevent the Emperor's troops from entering the garrison." All my appeals were vain. It was not until near eight o'clock that the Colonel determined to open the gate, and then only on being assured that the inhabitants of the suburb were preparing to force it open. The troops then immediately took possession of the ramparts, amidst shouts of "Vive l'Empereur."

The inhabitants came out bearing torches, and the Emperor soon entered Grenoble at the head of his army.

On the 9th of March, the Emperor and his guard passed the night at Bourgoing. From Grenoble to Lyons, his march resembled a triumphal

procession. The 4th Regiment of Hussars, which was sent forward to reconnoitre Lyons, was received in the suburb Guilla-iere, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th of March, with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur." At eight in the evening his Majesty marched into the city, at the head of those same troops who had been destined to oppose his entrance. On the 11th he reviewed all the troops collected at Lyons, amounting to 25,000 men. General Brayer, leading the advanced guard, marched forward to the capital.

On the 13th of March, the Emperor, at the head of the guard and the 7th Regiment of the line, entered Villefranche, a small town, having a population of 4000 souls; but which, at that moment, contained upwards of 60,000. At a late hour, that same day, the Emperor reached Macon, the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts thronging round him, and giving vent to the most enthusiastic expressions of joy.

On the morning of the 14th we reached Tournus, and the Emperor, with the guard, passed the night at Autun. On the 16th, we were at Avallon. On the 17th, his Majesty breakfasted at Vermenton, and that night slept at Auxerre. There we were joined, at eleven o'clock at night, by the gallant Colonel Marin of the artillery of the guard, who had come from La Fere to welcome his Majesty. At Auxerre, too, we were joined by the troops of the Prince of the Moskowa.

On the 20th of March, the Emperor, with the

guards and the 7th Regiment of the line, entered Fontainbleau, where he was agreeably surprised to find Poles stationed as videttes at the gates of the castle.

This able forced march, truly worthy of Polish troops, was conducted by Colonel Germanoski, commander of the Poles at Elba.

On the same day the Emperor set off for Paris, where he arrived about nine o'clock in the evening.

Thus ended this gigantic enterprize, undertaken with a column of 1000 men, and accomplished without shedding a drop of blood.

FINIS.

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